476 621 609 A list of all the objects it was proposed to make was first prepared by a group of representatives from each village. This number was then equably divided among the three villages. Village meetings were next held, and the work for each village was allotted to individuals or groups of men working under a supervising expert. On the day appointed for the commencement of the work, young men were sent out fishing, and selected women prepared foods for the group. All the workers assembled, men and women in separate groups, and worked throughout the day. At dusk, a food division was made and arrangements discussed for the next day's work. Experts were recalled from guard duties in the reserves where younger men substituted until the special work was completed. Cooperative work continued until all the objects were completed. As in other group activities, there was little direction of the work beyond its formal initiation. Most techniques were well known, followed traditional rules, and were easily carried out. Where work involved more complicated or uncommon techniques, someone recognised as specially skilled assumed the duties of director. Uncommon techniques were sometimes submitted to a sort of informal commission of old men, who discussed the matter thoroughly among themselves and then issued directions for the work as it proceeded.

461 621 476 [578] Work of all kinds is not without its stimuli. Individual work has its own reward, and work that is specially commissioned by others, as in canoe building, is paid for in food and gifts. Cooperative work on a small scale is recompensed by a feast; on a larger scale it depends for its stimulus on a sense of the fact that village welfare reacts on the welfare of the individuals composing the village, and, also, on inter-village rivalry and the consequent outlet for aggressive feelings. All types of cooperation are marked by sociability, good-natured banter, gossip, and joking. Chanting or singing is rare. There is no use of drugs, other than tobacco, as work stimuli.

461 626 476 Laziness in communal work is rare, but where it occurs there are several ways of dealing with it. The person who does not join group work does not share in the subsequent food division. If a person is persistently lazy in village works, he is deprived of his adult's share and is given only a child's share of village food divisions. This is a matter for intense and long-continued ridicule by both children and adults and continues until the person mends his ways. Two songs ridiculing the lazy person were quoted to me with the remark that the guard sang them outside the lazy one's house at night, and that children chanted them whenever the person appeared in the open. Both make pointed reference to the laziness with an insinuation that this carries over into personal habits. The songs are:

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Te pivai ela, malo pipilo,	Pig smelling, malo stinking,
E kiai ya wano la tua	(He) has not gone to the back (beach to defecate)
Tuku la ki te walayaya	(He has) placed himself in sacredness
Kae mea toa'e ao ai.	No thing (body) visible (through the filth).

539/626 Te maia, te maia, te maia	The weak (one, "softy"), the weak, the weak,
Te wewai, te wewai, te wewai,	The lazy man, the lazy, the lazy,
461 Tuku loa ki te vananga	Given (out his name) in the report (of the guard)
Puke atu [illegible] pe te poi*	Overtaken (by laziness) squashy like pudding,
E koa yinga wua ia.	Flops down completely.

FISHING

GENERAL FEATURES

123 226 Information on fish and Pukapukan fishing methods was obtained mainly from Veti and Eliu. It has been supplemented by general observation of some of the fishing techniques described. The material is not only interesting to the student of comparative Polynesian fishing methods, but it also gives an insight into the amount of control exercised by the Pukapukan fisherman over part of his environment. This control is much more complete than the following information suggests, because the actual amount of information collected represents a mere surface-scratching of the knowledge possessed by native fishermen. Two other limitations, imposed by lack of time and by comparative ignorance of the field worker in all that concerns fishing, conspired to prevent the collection of complete data on Pukapukan fishing. The classifications adopted in the following sections are those used by informants in presenting the material. Identifications of native fish names are given elsewhere (pp. 27-31).

226 621 The waters within and without the reef are used equally in fishing. The inner waters of the lagoon are combed over and over again each day by all the methods of lagoon fishing. Deep-sea fishing outside the reef is indulged in at least twice a week, depending on the amount of other work to do, the state of the sea, the winds and the weather, and the season of the year. Deep-sea fishing is relatively poor from November to March. In former days the amount of lagoon and outside reef fishing a man did depended also on the village to which he belonged. The division of reefs and lagoon among the three villages and the exclusive control exerted over these properties meant that the men of Ngake and Yato could fish more extensively than the men of Loto.

226 815 133 The habits and movements of all the fish were studied and correlated with the rising and setting of certain named stars (p. 350). All parts of the reef, inside and outside, as well as the lagoon deeps and shallows, are well known in terms of fish habits. Names for sections of the reef and for the parts of the ocean immediately outside the reef are given in figure 3.

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192 *The chants are modern, hence the use of the Tahitian *puaa* for pig (first song) and *poi* for pudding (second song).

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Canoes are bailed dry and excess moisture is wiped out with wringers of coconut fiber. They are covered with old coconut-leaf mats (*pola*), unplaited dry coconut leaves, and pieces of pandanus matting. This canoe covering is termed *houhau lama* or *topola*. Coconut-leaf butts and lengths of timber are leaned against the covering to prevent its blowing away in the wind.

Formerly canoes were never anchored with a cable to prevent them from drifting. A stick, called *iki touia*, was driven into the sand of the resting place of the canoe just forward of the stern cross boom on the port side of the canoe between the hull and the longitudinal spar. This served to anchor the canoe securely because the top end of the stick projected well above the cross boom.

CULTIVATION AND HARVESTING

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The vegetable foods of the Pukapukans are limited to coconuts, talo, *puluka*, bananas, and pandanus. Today a few papayas and limes grow on Motu Kotawa. Coconuts and talo were and are the staple vegetable foods; the coconut is immeasurably the more important. All parts of the coconut tree were used for food as well as clothing and sennit; its value led the people to study every phase in growth of fruit and tree. Any Pukapukan can distinguish stages in the growth of the nut by a glance at a tree, however high; and he will climb only that tree which has on it the particular fruit for his purpose.

COCONUT

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The origin of the coconut is told in the following Pukapukan version of a widespread Polynesian myth.

Mataali and Mauiepopo were a Pukapukan man and wife. Mauiepopo conceived a child by her husband and, as is the habit of women at this time and in this condition, she longed for special and strange foods to eat. She had tasted everything that her husband could bring her, but still she longed for other foods. Her husband fished and fished and brought her home his catch, but she refused to eat it, saying, "This fish smells rotten to me. Take it away. I do not like it. Go fishing again and bring me some other fish." So he went fishing again, and this time brought home some sweet fish, fat and delicious. But again his wife refused to eat, saying, "This fish is too sickly sweet. I don't like it." This went on for many days, the husband procuring all kinds of new fish, the wife refusing them all, until he was worn out with his toil, while his wife pined away for food. At last he said to her, "Tell me what kind of fish it is that you long for, and then I will try to bring it to you." She replied, "There is one fish only that I desire and that is a piece of the *tuna* eel."

The man got his bait and hooks and went to the hole of the *tuna*. He baited his hook and threw it into the hole, but the *tuna* would not bite. He tried many kinds of bait fish in turn but with no luck. At last in despair he tried a bait of flowers and leaves, but still the *tuna* would not bite his hook. In the end, when he was about to give up altogether, he thought of his wife sitting at home waiting for him and decided to make one more try. For this last effort he baited his hook with the strong-perfumed

245 flower of the *uvien* tree. As he baited his hook and dropped the line into the hole he
539 made this chant: "Masiouli, Masiepopo, ta te matau, e matau lave" [Masiouli, Masi-
177 epopo, (we) prepare the hook, the fast-gripping hook]. The *tuna* took the bait and
773 was soon fast fixed to the hook. The man hauled the fish from the hole, and when he was about to club it to death the fish spoke, saying, "Hear my words before you kill me. When I am dead, cut off my head. Let your wife eat my body, but my head you must plant in the ground in front of your house." The man listened well to the words of the *tuna*. Then he killed the fish, cut off its head, and planted it in front of his house. The body he wrapped in leaves, cooked in the oven, and took to his wife. She saw the eel and said, "Here you are at last with just the kind of fish I have been longing for." With these words she ate the fish and was satisfied.

After a time the head grew up into a tree which later bore nuts, one nut on the topmost stem, two nuts on the second stem, three nuts on the third stem, and so on up to ten nuts on the tenth stem. Then later it had twenty stems and on the twentieth were twenty nuts. Finally the tree bore a heavy crop of nuts. As the earliest ones ripened and became hard, they dropped from the tree to the ground. Masiouli collected all the nuts. Then he had the idea of giving nuts to all the islands in the Pacific. He divided the nuts into two parts; one part for the islands of the western Pacific, the other part for the islands of the eastern Pacific. Then he took one nut at a time from the western pile and threw it into the air. As he threw he called out the name of an island and there the nut landed. When the western pile was finished he started on the eastern pile, throwing a nut into the air as before for each island in the eastern Pacific. In this way all the islands of the Pacific received the coconut. After he had used all the nuts from the tree, he thought, "In this division I have forgotten all about Pukapuka, which is neither east nor west. Te Ulu-o-te-watu has received no nuts from this division." He looked around on the ground and found one very small, dry nut. He held up this nut and said, "This shall be the nut for Pukapuka." Thus in the end all the islands shared in the nuts from the tree that grew from the head of the *tuna* fished by Masiouli.

After telling this story, informants added that the first nut was planted
829 in the reserve of Uta. It is a characteristic Pukapukan touch to say that
186 Pukapuka received only a wizened nut after almost being left out of the
522 division altogether. In the story of Lata, when Lata divided the huge *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*), he forgot Pukapuka in the division and was able to give the island only the rock to which the *payua* was growing. Similarly Pukapuka was the last Polynesian island to receive Christianity and among the last islands to receive a visit from anthropologists!

245 Coconut trees are empirically divided into 17 classes in terms of the
242 bearing qualities of the tree and the shape or quality of the husk:

824 Niu lukiu: produces nuts that are small but abundant; it sometimes ceases bearing for a long time but usually bears again after this pause.
137 Niu wata: bears well and continuously but not abundantly.
Niu tauti: does not bear well and is not often planted.
Niu koalu: bears well but the nuts show a tendency to fall from the tree before they are mature.
Niu wualolo: a non-bearing tree with male flowers.
Niu malie: bears well and has good eating nuts.
Niu mangalo: bears the sweet eating coconut with edible husk.
Niu lafiliki: bears very small nuts.
Niu lavanui: very large nuts.
Niu kava loloa: nuts with long husks.

P. Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapuka

372 [illegible] 53 The origin of fire is told in two stories:

In the very beginning of time, fire was procured for the Pukapukans by a man named Mauikatoto, a medicine man who was visited by his god in a dream and instructed how to make fire with the hearth and rubbing stick.* Mauikatoto made fire according to the directions of his god. The *kaka* bird (ghost tern) was the assistant who held the far end of the hearth stick. When Mauikatoto had made fire, the tern flew up into the air and circled around him. Mauikatoto hit the tern over the eyes with the hot rubbing stick, making the black marks over the eyes which the *akiaki* bird (a white tern with a black semicircle around the upper part of each eye) carries to this day. A second version says that Mauikatoto's hands were covered with ashes, and as he grasped at the tern, the ashes marked the bird over the eyes. The following part of an old chant is quoted in support of this origin of fire:

Tutu ia i te awi na Mauikatoto,	Flamed the fire (made) by Mauikatoto,
E yolia e te kakavai,	Hearth holder the *kaka* bird,
Naku kotia te vaimata o te akiaki.	I striped the outer corners of the eye of the *akiaki* bird.

The seismic wave of about 300 years ago was so disastrous that all fire was extinguished. Another legend tells how fire was brought back to Pukapuka after this catastrophe:

The god, Ngaliyeyeu, brought fire to the priest, Te Ule. There was no fire in this land. Ngaliyeyeu brought it to Te Ule. Then fire was known. At that time there were no fires belonging to the priests of the gods. Earlier they had lit their fires at the fire of Te Ule. The god of Te Ule, Ngaliyeyeu, became angry. The god said to him, "Put out your fire, that the priests of the gods won't come here to take fire to cook their fish. Leave them to eat their fish only raw. If they are without fire to cook, they won't live. They have been boasting, they fancied that the fire belonged to them." Te Ule put his fire out. The priests became frenzied. They went to Te Ule to seek fire, "O Te Ule, where is the fire?" Te Ule answered, "There is no fire." The priests of the gods ate only raw food. Te Ule got his fish, rubbed his fire till it burned, grilled his fish till cooked, put out the fire. Such was his practice.

This is the technique by which the god succeeded in getting fire: a stick, *puapua*. Split the *puapua*. Cut the one portion into a very small piece. The name of the small piece is *hounoti*. The other half of the stick, place beneath. Shave the part on top of the back of the stick. Place the *hounoti* on this place, the name of which is *ikonga*. Then rub. There are two types of rubbing: short, rapid strokes (*patumoto*) the one, longer, slow strokes (*tuokanoti*) the other. Arrived at another, later time, Te Ule told the technique for making fire.

372 For firewood, which is fairly scarce, many parts of the coconut tree are
318 utilized: flower sheath, dry flower stems, small dry coconut shells, and
482 occasionally very dry coconut husks. Firewood is also obtained from other trees, dead branches of which are broken from the trunk or picked up from the ground and broken by beating against a tree trunk or stone. Wood obtained from the reserves is placed in coconut mats, tied with coconut fibers in a bundle, and carried home on top of the head. Gathering firewood is
372 women's work. Today, as formerly, fresh fire is made only if it is in-

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* In another version of the story, Mauikatoto is said to be a god, but apparently not related to any of the three Maui brothers. Informants giving this version could not remember how Mauikatoto procured fire in the first instance.

292 were shorter than those made of sennit and were therefore worn more as
ornaments than as protective clothing.

523 Both the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus are greatly valued
today in terms of sentiment and scarcity. No longer being made, they are
763 the greatest heirloom that a man can hand on to his son. Sennit malo
C8146 was procured from a childless man who felt he had no further use
178 for it. During the confessional held as a last desperate attempt to save the
life of an only male child, the sennit malo that the child would inherit was
hung from the house tiebeams as if its highly charged sentimental value
might help the child to hold onto life (p. 338).

826 Informants suggested that the hands of contemporary Pukapukans are
different from those of ancient Pukapukans and that therefore the art of
283 making the very tight five-ply braid of the sennit malo has been lost. But,
as both malos might be classed by missionaries as heathen garments, there
292 is no longer sufficient incentive in the culture to take the trouble to make
178 them.

The art of making the poncho-like garment (*la kupenga*) worn by men
283 above the pandanus malo has been lost, but from informant's description it
seems that it is plaited of fine strips of *kie* pandanus material. Three or
292 four elements were plaited as a single element (*langa tolu* or *langa wa*).
828 The garment was rectangular, falling to the waist at front and back. The
neck hole was either square or roughly V-shaped. Hanging ends were
787 fringed with strips of *kie*, and the garment was fastened with strings of
welo cord (*matai welo*) on either side, one pair of strings under the arms,
another pair at the waist. Informants felt that there was no status associated
with the wearing of this garment, but it was worn on festive or ceremonial
occasions by anyone whose wife or relative had acquired the technique of
plaiting it from a dream in which familiars came from the Underworld to
teach it. The following lines of an old chant were quoted to prove the
539 antiquity of the garment:

Wakakawea ki te la kupenga	Clothed in the *la kupenga*
Tuputupu a Yiva angaoti	Made as in Yiva (legendary land) certainly,
Yongia ona wakaeveevenga.	Smelled its fringe.

> 292 Informants said that a Pukapukan man returned from the land of Yiva where the
> art of making *la kupenga* was also known. He was wearing a foreign-made *la kupenga*
> 177 when he landed. The people went to greet him and some pressed the fringe of the
> garment to their noses. This fringe had the smell of a foreign land or of a foreign
> people. It may be inferred perhaps that the garment was introduced into Pukapuka
> from the land of Yiva and never became a common article of wear, its use dying out
> rapidly when the Pukapukans acquired European garments.

292 Corresponding to the *la kupenga* worn by men was a sort of short cape
(*yeu*) worn by women. The art of making the *yeu* has been lost today.

[124] occasions. There is much confusion in their minds on the subject, and no two men agree on all points of the story. The account given below will serve as a basis for the discussion of individual interpretations of the origin of the race:

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Ko Punga ma Punga Momoto, e lua tamaliki o Tumulivaka ma Te Matakiate. Ko ye taka lelei na mo konga ia ma, me na Tumulivaka, me na Mataliki na tama ia. Kua matutua i a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Wanau kia na tama a Punga Momoto: ko te mango, ko te tavala, ko te wui ika pau. Yau na toe tama, ko te kati, ko te tupa, te kaveu, te kile, te tuli, te kawa, te wui tupua o lunga o te wenua. Ko na tama ia a lua ko te wui ika o te moana, ko te wui tupua a lunga o te wenua. Kua nono latou i lunga o te wenua, mea latou i na yanga kikino.

Lili loa te atua, ko Mataliki. Lapa loa ki te uila mai lunga o te langi. Mimio loa na tamaliki a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Awangia loa latou. Mimio loa na toe tamaliki, welele loa ki loto o te moana, [illegible]; mai te tavala, te mango, te kakai, te pala, te wonu,—te wui ika,—mimio ki loto o te moana; mimio ki loto o te alo; mai te kiliamaki, te [illegible], te tiwitiwi, te yana, te [illegible], te tau kokoti,—ko te wui ika i loto o te alo. Yau na toe tama a lua, ulu ki lalo o te wenua, mai te kaipea, te unga, te kavau, te kiole, ko te wui tupua i lunga o te wenua. Ko na toe tama a lua, welele atu ki na konga mamamao i na toe pa wenua, [illegible]: welele ki lunga o te [illegible], mai te tuli, te kavea, te kiliki, te [illegible],—te wui manu e welele ki lunga. Wanau ai te wanunga o te mango, e tangata i lunga o te wenua. Tapa loa te ingoa o te wua o latou, ko te wua o Te Mango. Pela oki te tama a te tavola: wanau oki te tavola tana tama, e tangata. Ko tana tino o te tavola ia, na [illegible] na toe te moana. Ko tana tama na wanau i lunga o te wenua, tapa loa tana ingoa, Te Mango o Te Wui Tavola.

Punga and Punga Momoto were two children of Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate. These and other parts (of the story) are not well understood; (that is) whether (they were) the children of Tumulivaka or of Mataliki. Punga and Punga Momoto were (now) grown up. The children of Punga Momoto were born: the shark, the whale, all of the many fish. Next the other children, the land creatures, the *tupa* crab, the robber crab, the *kile* bird, the sandpiper, the curlew, all the creatures on the land. Their children (then), were the many fish of the sea and the many creatures of the land. They lived on the land, carried out their evil works.*

The god Mataliki became angry. He struck (the land) with lightning from up in the sky. The children of Punga and Punga Momoto hastened away. They were scattered. Some of the children disappeared, ran into the sea, hid there: such were the whale, the shark, the albacore, the [illegible], the turtle,—all the fish rushed into the sea, (or) rushed into the lagoon, such as the *kiliamaki*, the [illegible], the *tiwitiwi*, the *yana*, the [illegible], the *tau kokoti*,—all the fish of the lagoon. Next, their other children hid under the land, such as the *kaipea* crab, the *unga* crab, the robber crab, the rat, all the creatures on the land. Their other children flew away to distant places in other island groups, hid there: they flew above the treetops: these were the sandpiper, the curlew, the plover, the turnstone,—all the birds that fly on high.

The shark gave birth to its offspring, a human being on the land. The name of their race was given, the race of Te Mango (the shark). Similarly the children of the whale; the child of the whale [illegible] went to the sea, grew there, [illegible] fish for the sea. Its child born on the land was given its name, Te Mango o Te Wui Tavola (the branch of the whales).

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* The reference to "evil works" [illegible] which inhabitants feel regarding the [illegible] propagation of their land.

539 Ko te tupuanga o te Wua Lulu: Me te mea ko te wawine no loto mai ana te wua, e tupu mai ai te tangata. Wanau ai loa, tupu ai tangata. E wua ia no te Pukapuka. Pe ia oki na tama a Punga Momoto: e wua oki te mea ko tupu mai ai. Tupu loa te wua, ko te Wua Lulu.

Wanau ai na tama a Te Mango, a te tangata i lunga o te wenua nei: ko Te Lokie, e tamawine na Te Mango; ko Yeitae, ko te toe tamawine a Te Mango; e lua manga na Te Mango. Wakatupu i a Lokie tona wanunga, tupu mai. Peia oki i a Yeitae.

Ko Te Tawola, koa wanau tamaliki Te Tawola: Ko Te Yelu, ko te toe tama a Te Tawola; ko Te Manga o Te Manu, ko te toe tama a Te Tawola. E lua na tama a Te Tawola, ko Te Yelu ma Te Manu. Pau ai na tamaliki a Punga Momoto na wanau o te moana.

Ko na tamaliki a Punga Momoto na mana ki ngauta: Ko Te Kati, ko Pukapuka te toe, ko Malemu te toe, ko Te Lawala te toe. Ko te toe tama a Punga Momoto, Te Kiole. Ko te toe, Kenakena. Ko te wanau a Kiole, wanau mai ai te tangata; peia oki te wanau a Kenakena, peia oki te wanau a Pukapuka, peia oki te wanau a Malemu, peia oki te wanau a Te Lawala. Koa wanau a latou tamaliki wolo ki lunga o te wenua. Koa wolo te tangata ki lunga o te wenua.

As to the growth of the Wua Lulu: (it is) like a woman inside of whom is the ovary from which grow people. She conceives, people grow. This, in Pukapuka, is called wua. Like this were the children of Punga Momoto: it was a wua also which grew from them. The wua grew, the Wua Lulu. (This included both the sea of Te Mango and the branch of the Tawola.)

The children of Te Mango, of the people on this island, were born. Te Lokie was a daughter of Te Mango; Yeitae, the other daughter. These are two branches of Te Mango. Lokie produced her offspring; they grew. Yeitae did the same.

As to Te Tawola, Te Tawola bore children: Te Yelu was one child of Te Tawola. The branch of Te Manu (the Bird) was another child of Te Tawola. There were two children of Te Tawola, Te Yelu and Te Manu. This finishes the children of Punga Momoto born of the sea.

(These are) the children of Punga Momoto who hid inland, (that is) the Kati: Pukapuka was one, Malemu another, Te Lawala another. Another child of Punga Momoto was Te Kiole (the Rat); another, Kenakena. As to the children of Te Kiole, people were born. So too the children of Kenakena, of Pukapuka, also the children of Malemu, and also the children of Te Lawala. Their many children were born on the island. The people on the island were many.

613 773 539 616 NOTE: The above account stresses the point that the children of Punga and Punga Momoto were animals of the land and animals of the sea. In earlier discussions, other informants stated that the offspring of these two grandchildren of Mataliki were humans. When the lightning struck the house in which Punga and Punga Momoto were living, the children rushed outside to seek protection. Some ran to the sea for shelter, hiding under the water, under reef coral heads. Others of the children rushed to the bush, and hid under trees, in the holes of land animals, under rock shelters. When the panic was over, one of three things happened. The text account states that the land animals and the sea animals gave birth to human children who became the ancestors of the various lineages. Another version is that the human children came from hiding and then commemorated the event by taking names from land and sea animals, according to whether they hid in sea or on land. A third opinion is that the children remained forever where they hid and were turned into land or sea animals. According to this version, not all the children were stricken with panic. Those that remained human named themselves after the forms of their now transformed brothers and sisters and these names

613 became the names of the lineages thus formed. The variations need not be reconciled.
They are interesting as variations on a theme that explains mythically the origin of an
539 important social group.

In the beginning when the maternal lineages were thus originated there
773 were two main groups, Kati and Lulu. Kati is the generic name for all
616 land creatures; hence Wua Kati may be translated as the land people. Lulu
is the common term for a gathering and refers here to the remainder, those
not land people. Hence the Wua Lulu is the sea people. These two main
maternal lineages are again divided into two main sections. The divisions
of the Wua Kati are Wua Uila (lightning) and Wua Kati. The divisions
of the Wua Lulu are Wua Tawola (whale) and Wua Mango (shark).

611 Another account states that the main divisions in the beginning were
Wua Lulu and Wua Uila, which on subdivision became Wua Mango, Wua
773 Tawola, Wua Uila, and Wua Kati. Hence whatever the priority of names,
the result on subdivision is the same in both accounts. Informants were
unclear as to whether there was a priority of groupings such that originally
there was a clear dual division, which later became a fourfold division, subsumed by two main named groups. The text account suggests not. Other
statements suggest that of the Lulu group, Mango was the first-born child,
Tawola the second-born child. This would definitely mean temporal priority
for a dual division. The matter is important, because the suggestion is here
strong that originally the maternal division of Pukapukan society was in
terms of matrilineal moieties, perhaps of matrilineal phratries. I think it
613 likely that whatever the matter of priority, which cannot be decided at this
773 date, there was originally a dual division, each division being again subdivided into two groups, such that a matrilineal group of sea people was
616 opposed to a matrilineal group of land people. Further discussion of the
functions of the maternal lineages will show that this dual organization was
important for both economic and social organization.

613 The text account states that a further division into maternal sub-lineages
(*keinanga*) occurred at the time of the original formation of the groups.
616 Other informants agreed that as the maternal grouping became numerically
large and too unwieldy to control its members, various women broke away
from each lineage to form smaller matrilineal sub-lineages (*keinanga*, *momo*,
or *manga*), each of which, however, remains subsumed under the larger
grouping. The grouping of this later period, which continues to this day, is
as follows:

605 visits at the house of Elia, and Moiingi, Elia's wife, visits with Veti. Neither Elia nor Loton visits the opposite house, even when he knows the *wale atee* is absent, through fear of inadvertently touching objects belonging to the other. All communication between the two is carried on through a third person.

605 The resident agent remarks on the difficulty of court work when *wale atee* are involved in a case. Neither *wale atee* will appear in court to act as 695 witness or plaintiff but insists on sending a proxy. If the agent insists that both *wale atee* shall be present in his court, they turn their backs on each other, keep as far apart as possible, and direct all questions to each other through intermediaries.

602 The intense *tapu* that exists between *wale atee* relatives is supported by 835 the cultural fiction that they are potentially and actually more interested in each other emotionally than in other members of the opposite sex:

588 Sometimes in spite of the *tapu wale atee* become so clandestine as to consummate an 753 emotional attraction. Formerly, where this actually happened and was discovered, the couple were rendered outcasts by their families, who prayed to their family gods to punish with sickness the terrible sin. The common punishment asked for was filarial infection of the two *wale atee* and their descendants for ever and ever. Some informants tended to take the incidence of filaria today as due to forgotten or half-forgotten *wale atee* incest in the families of those affected. One well-remembered case is that of Pokaia who married his *wale atee*, Wosaro, just after the mission was established. Husband and wife, their twelve children, and numerous grandchildren all suffered and con- [771] tinue to suffer to this day from filarial infection. One old man, a good Christian, calmly assured me that his filaria was due to the fact that his first wife was his *wale atee*, whom he married in an excess of Christian zeal and with an idea of proving that old *tapus* were worthless. He expressed no regret at his hasty action.

602 The attraction of *wale atee* for each other is mentioned many times in the old love chants (*tupa*), many of which seem to have their origin either in a hopeless or in a 539 consummated affection of one *wale atee* for another. When asked for rationalizations for the *wale atee tapu*, informants could only quote the two following sections from 835 *tupa*. The rationalization is obscure and can not now be clarified, but there is no mistaking the intensity of emotion that finds expression:

Ko Matariki koe, ko Tele au
[illegible]

[illegible]

You are Matariki (the Pleiades), I am Tele
  (Orion)
(We lived) like two families together (as do
  these stars)
Turn to me, oh my *wale atee*
You are sacred, you are the *tapu* place
(For which) my heart has longed;
(When I see you) my pulse pounds like the
  beginning (blowing) of the night wind.

The second chant runs:

[illegible]

[illegible]

I had fixed my desire (on my *wale atee*),
The first-born opens (herself to me) and [illegible]
  for my desire.
[illegible] is my heart (with pleasure),
[illegible] to my distasteful food,
With my longing for you;
[illegible] is the desire of my heart,
(I am) dragged back (by it) to where you sit,
[illegible] (this place) by the [illegible],
You turn to me that we may talk,
I [illegible] our secret understanding: we shall have
  [illegible], shan't we?

832 informants felt any woman is just as interested in playing as a man, and 833 apart from natural antipathies no difficulty arises in securing favors from the woman of one's choice.

832 539 The only account in the folk tales of what may be interpreted as the use of love magic occurs in the story of an oversexed and greedy man named Vavaka, priest of the god Te Atua Vaelua:

> Vavaka was extremely fond of grated green nut flesh (*niu kalokalo*) and spent each day making large quantities of the food. This became a matter for ridicule by the women and girls of the community, who would pass by his door making fun of him and his food. Vavaka resolved to have his revenge upon the women. When night fell, he went to gather *nau, wetau, kaupua,* and *tiale* flowers, brought them to his house, and made "the thing" for his god (*wai ake te mea a tona atua*). He gave the preparation (*wainga*) to his god and prayed: "O Vaelua, take you the spirit of the woman here, she is a difficult woman, a woman besides, who dislikes me. You take her to your fragrant isles (*o muku kakala*) to tame her spirit (*wakalata i tona mauli*) so that your priest here may go and try to wake her by his shaking, and if she wakes not, then let your priest have intercourse with this woman." Later in the night Vavaka went to the woman. He enjoyed her and when he left he said, "Ongalonga!" (There, I have got even with you). On other nights Vavaka visited other women who had shamed him. Then he desired married women, and again he prayed to his god to take the spirit of the married woman and her husband to the fragrant isles, so that he could sleep with the woman without her knowledge. Vavaka finished his prayer and ran to the house of the woman. With his knife of *pala* jawbone he slit the mosquito net in the region of the woman's genitals and enjoyed her. Then he boasted as before, "Ongalonga e te tama kaungata" (I have got even with the difficult child). Then in after days Vavaka would sneer and taunt the women saying, "Even though you just walk on the land, my fishhook (for catching women) is large enough to catch you."

The magic employed in this story seems to have consisted of a gift of fragrant flowers to the god, the implication being that the god would lull the senses of the intended victim with the scent of the flowers, or else, more obscurely, that the god would transport the spirit of the victim to an island where the scents were as fragrant as the flowers. The lovemaking of Vavaka was crude and wild, but he was animated only by motives of revenge for ridicule cast at him.

831 A study of the chants (1) indicates that although sex is treated in 832 Pukapuka with extreme realism, nevertheless the sexual relation is not one of crude realism. Feelings of affection and beauty enter into relations be-195 tween the sexes, and *in the love chants (kupu) the composer is always at* [533] pains to indicate his feelings for his mistress by a variety of metaphors:

> The woman, for example, is compared to beautiful white pearl-shell fishhooks, she is as straight and beautiful as a perfect canoe log, she is as handsome as foreign people and as fair, she is as beautiful as the flowering buds of the coconut tree or the scarlet flowers of the wahanga tree; her body is fat as the delicious albacore fish. Again, her skin is as smooth and shiny as the side of a new canoe adzed by the expert, the *tinea* marks on her skin are like the rows of morning stars, her eyebrows are fashioned smooth as the feathers of the tropic bird, the inside of her thighs is bright as the flash of lightning or the gleam of the moon, her voice is like the beautiful crying of the white "rat" (cat). Associations of the genitals of the man or the women with beautiful objects

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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their heads on upturned palms, and carried it thus to the grave. The people of the island followed, chanting, with arms raised and palms upturned. On reaching the grave they recited the following chant of which the language is archaic in part and the translation only approximately correct:

Kai yahi yahia	Carry above the head (?)
Yuyu mataalangi	Wet (against the) face of the sky
Tipa, tipa	To one side, to one (the other) side,
Ula ula ei, ula ula ei	Up and down, up and down,
Ngalueu, ngalueu,	Undulate, undulate,
Tai ake	Stand back (?)
Ui!	Throw down!

766 787 The bearers swung the corpse to and fro to the rhythm of the chant, and when the word "Ui!" was shouted out, they threw it with all their strength into the grave. The people listened as it fell against the bottom. If the body was heard to grunt, the omen was good. If there was no sound, a man was sent into the grave to fasten a length of sennit (kaha) to the corpse bundle. The body was hauled from the grave and hoisted on high, the chant was recited again, and the body crashed into the grave. All listened, and if no grunt was heard, the body was hoisted out and thrown a third time. If a grunt was heard, all was well; but if no sound was heard, the body was nevertheless left in peace, but the late chief was cursed for not vouchsafing the people some omen for the future. The rationalization for this procedure is this: the grave was dug deeply so that the chief's soul might quickly meet the spirits of his ancestors (*tupuna*) and the gods of the Underworld to request favors from them ensuring prosperous and happy times for the people on earth. The grunting sound for which everyone anxiously listened was a sign from the chief that the gods had agreed to his request. No sound meant that the chief was dissatisfied with his burial and refused to intercede with the gods below. Hence the people cursed him for being ungrateful to them.

766 Though there was no custom of using a canoe as a coffin for the chief, Te Kula, who lived approximately thirteen generations ago, buried one of his canoes in the ground and used this as a tomb for his children, opening the grave to place each of his deceased children within the canoe. Te Kula was himself buried directly in the earth close to the canoe. A row of stones marks the outline of the canoe, and other stones delineate the grave of the chief (p. 163).

766 245 176 After the chief was finally laid in the grave, earth and pebbles were filled in on top. The closest relatives remained by the grave. The young men of all three villages went to Loto's reserve, Uta, to get coconuts for the chief's funeral division, called *kava* or *laukava*. Other nuts were procured from the reserved trees (*niu wakavale*) round the chief's cemetery. The nuts, called *te kava o te aliki*, were removed from the trees in clusters and carefully lowered to the ground by a rope. No nut was thrown to the ground, and any nut that fell from the cluster as it was being lowered was discarded. Dropped nuts became imperfect and therefore derogatory to the prestige of the late chief.

The division of nuts took place on the meeting ground (*auanga*) of the old men's group (*tupele*). A strong man, who was chosen, picked up a cluster of nuts, held it before him with both hands, and gave it a sudden jerk. The nuts that fell from the stem were divided among the people; the nuts that remained on the stem were reserved for the god of coconuts, Tuumayei. The man who shook off the nuts was called *te toli wawain*. A divider who was so strong that he shook off all the nuts, leaving none for the god, or so weak that he shook off too few for the people (say only 10 out of 20) was dismissed. The god's share of the nuts was taken to the place called Taikele (at the rear of the present London Missionary Society church) and left on the ground to rot or to sprout; no man would dare to remove them on pain of death inflicted by the gods.

766 The relatives of the late chief remained in the death house to mourn for one to three moons. Covered with mats, they stayed mainly inside the house, never talked above a whisper, and did no work, being fed by other relatives not in mourning. There were no special food tapus or mourning adornment. When the mourning was ended, the

774 stance. When the gods caused man to descend from the god Mataliki, they were afraid to give his soul full awareness, because once it left the body enjoying full awareness, it would never come back, and the body would thus be superfluous. The gods therefore ensured that the soul would see the world in a misty fashion only, that it would be afraid of daylight and thus would have to see the world always under cover of darkness. The soul hurries home at dawn. Dreams are often indistinct and easily forgotten because the soul is not clearly aware of the adventures it has when it wanders [755] about in the night. Medicine men (*tangata wotu*) who had the power of seeing souls in the dark often killed them on the theory that they were up to some mischief, causing sickness. Hence the soul always tried to avoid the medicine man in its nightly perambulations.

775 After death of the material body for whatever reason, the soul is finally released for all time from the body. It journeys to the Underworld, where it takes up permanent residence and enjoys the full pleasure and awareness denied to it in the upper world. There is no question of reincarnation, because the soul will not readily resume the bondage of the body after tasting the delights of full awareness in the Underworld. The gods may intervene [774] to return the soul to the body after a short sojourn in the Underworld, usually at the supplication of those mourners left on earth, never at the supplication of the soul itself.

THE COSMOS

772 The Pukapukan idea of the cosmos, complementing the ideology of the soul, is that the cosmos consists of three major levels, indefinitely extensive flat surfaces. The level of this world of humans comprises *te papa wenua* and *te papa moana*, the level of land and of sea. Above is *te papa langi*, the level of the sky. The sky meets land or sea at the horizon, which is thought of as the side of the sky, *te tawa o te langi*. The sky therefore limits the indefinite expansion of the earthly levels. Below the level of this world is the Po, the Underworld, itself made up of three further indefinitely extensive levels, *te kapi lunga*, *te kapi lalo*, and *te po likuliku*. No limit to these levels is known.

THE UNDERWORLD

775 Pukapukan knowledge of the Underworld (fig. 54) is derived from the
154 visit made by Wotoa and Te Yoa, two seers, who figure also as the heroes
who rid Pukapuka of the god-ogre, Te Atua Pule. Neither of these broth-
539 ers comes into the genealogies. The account they brought back was supple-
mented by dream visits of other seers to the Underworld at later dates, and
by dreams of laymen. The account of the visit of Wotoa and Te Yoa is
as follows:

539 One day the two brothers came to the outer beach of Ngake village to bathe and swim in the sea at the place known as Te Ava-o-Te-Palo. They hung up their coconut-leaf malos on a banana tree and entered the water. They swam out to the reef shelf and were disporting themselves there in the breakers, when all at once, they saw a huge wave rise up. It opened out and uncovered a big hole, The-entrance-to-the-Po, into which the two men stepped. The wave closed over them again, and they found themselves in darkness. There was a path running down, but it was very dark, very steep, and very slippery. This was the path to the Po. A guiding thread of sennit ran downward along the angle of the inclined path. Te Yoa did not wish to venture down the road, but Wotoa, more courageous, was determined to go, and persuaded his brother to come with him. He told Te Yoa to walk closely behind him. When Wotoa lifted one foot, Te Yoa was to slip his own foot into the foot print; and when Wotoa lifted his other foot, Te Yoa was to advance his second foot to the vacant place. In this way, Te Yoa would be able to walk with safety: Wotoa, going first, would take all the risks.

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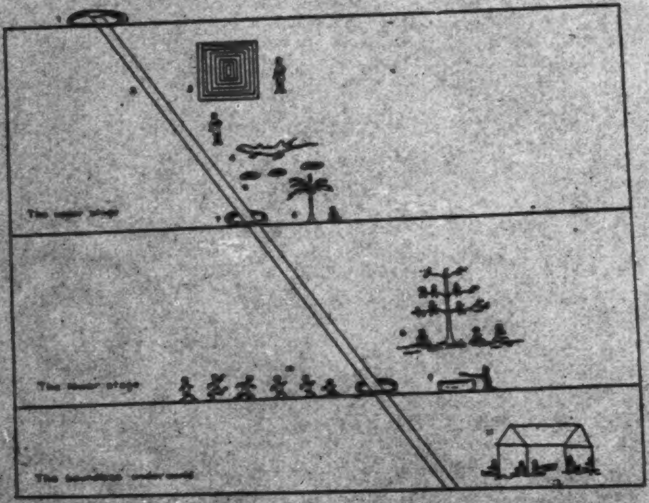

FIGURE 54.—Pukapukan Underworld (Po), from a drawing by Talainga. 1, entrance to first stage of Underworld (*te kapi lunga*); 2, road to Underworld; 3, eight-walled structure of the god Te Vayi (*te pa a Te Vayi*); 4, lizard (*moko*) and its guardian god Lohe; 5, fresh water springs (*na vai no te po*); 6, coconut tree of Malu and its guardian god Malu; 7, entrance to lower stage (*te kapi lalo*); 8, *tuka* tree of god Tangi, women who have borne children sitting in branches, childless women sitting on ground below; 9, musician god Tulikalo playing his gong ([illegible]); 10, group of gods dancing to music; 11, house of many posts of goddess Lova (*te wale pou tinitini a Lova*); 12, goddess Lova plaits her mat while other gods rest against house posts awaiting coming of spirits of deceased Pukapukans to Underworld. Talainga has omitted banana tree of god Malua, oscillating stone of Yokomani, talo gardens, coconut groves, and ocean that surround house of Lova in the boundless Underworld (*te Po likulibu*).

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After stumbling along this path, the two came out on a flat space where they saw a giant lizard (*moko wolo*). Te Yoa cried out in fear at this apparition. Both men prayed to their god to help them, and when Wotoa lifted his foot to scare the lizard, it closed its gaping mouth, and the two men walked quickly and safely past it. They came to the banana tree of the god Mulua, then passed on to the pools of fresh water (*te vai ma te Po*), where they washed themselves. Going farther, they came to a coconut tree (*te niu a Malu*) cared for by the god Malu. A number of gods were sitting round this tree, and the two brothers were pleased to be able to pick out the gods they were accustomed to worship on earth. The gods inquired about the visitors and were surprised to hear they were mortals and not souls. Wotoa said he was thirsty, so a god climbed the tree and threw down nuts which the god Te Awuawu husked for them, and which the god Ngaliyeyen opened and apportioned between the two mortals. The gods joined them in drinking a nut and then left to go elsewhere. They had been picnicking in the shade of the coconut tree.

Passing on, the brothers came to the stone of Yokamani, which is just by the opening to the lower level of the Po (*te pu ki te kapi lalo*). A spirit rested on this stone which Yokamani oscillated, so that the spirit lost balance and fell into the *kapi lalo*.

The brothers passed down to the *kapi lalo* and saw the *puka* tree planted by Tangi, guarded by the god Loke. On this tree were the souls of recently deceased Pukapukans. Children were sitting in the branches of the tree, mothers were sitting on the ground, and other souls were hanging strangled in the nooses (*matapili*) that hung from the branches. Still other souls were hunting about the ground for lizards to give the gods to eat.

Going farther, the brothers came to a place where there were many more gods all wearing their hair nicely plaited on the top of their heads. From this Wotoa and Te Yoa got the idea of making hats of plaited pandanus, and that was the origin of hat making in Pukapuka. [Plaited hat making was not introduced into Pukapuka until after white contact.] The gods were all dancing, chanting, and playing games. Tulikalo, the musician god, was playing on the wooden gongs. The brothers listened and watched and were thus able to introduce to Pukapuka the dances, games, and musical rhythms they heard and saw.

Wotoa and Te Yoa passed on until they came to the Po likuliku, where they saw a big round house with many thousands of wall posts (*te wale pou tinitini*), one post for each member of the population of the Po to rest his back against when he wished. This was the house of the goddess Leva. Round the house stretched groves and groves of coconut trees and huge beds of talo, called *Te Ui-o-Lepia*. A little way off was the ocean (Te moana-o-Tupepe) where the gods and spirits fished and sailed canoes. Inside her house Leva sat plaiting a mat. The brothers learned how souls often get caught in this mat. [On the basis of their report, qualified by the account in the story of Milimili, some say that Leva ensnared souls in the mat which meant that they lived in the Underworld forever; others say that the gods insisted that Leva incorporate in the mat elements all the souls that they smelled out, but that Leva sought to hide the souls under the mat until lineage gods had an opportunity to crawl under the mat, abstract the souls, and return them to the upper world.]

The brothers stayed for a long time in the Underworld, looking at all the wonders. At last, however, they began to long for the familiar delights of the upper world. They went to Ngaliyeyen and asked him to help them return. Ngaliyeyen agreed and went before them to guide them past the perils of the road. They climbed up the path, and when they reached the top a wave opened up. They stepped onto the reef and waded ashore onto Wale.

The people meantime thought they had been drowned. They had found their malos hanging from the banana tree by the beach; when the two did not come back from their swim, it was reported that they had been carried out to sea by a big wave. So all the people were mourning them as dead. When they stepped onto the beach, the

539 people rushed round them to hear of their adventures. They told of their journey, and
later introduced to Pukapuka all the activities—arts, crafts, and games—of the Underworld. From their visit, supplemented by voyages abroad, is derived all the knowledge of the Pukapukans in these arts.

Other priests who visited the Underworld brought back the knowledge of
775 talo food preparations, of which the original inhabitants of Pukapuka were
unaware. Perhaps, say informants, this coincided with the reintroduction
154 of fire to Pukapuka by the god Ngaliyeyeu after the seismic wave. The seer
Levi, who lived just prior to white contact, is said to have shown the people of Pukapuka many times the food—fish, talo, and nuts—that his spirit brought back to him after one of its visits to the Underworld.

Some visitors to the Underworld have reported the existence of an eight-walled enclosure on the *kapi lunga,* presided over by the god Te Vayi. In this enclosure was kept burning a hot fire, into which adulterers, for example, are supposed to have been thrown by Te Vayi. Confirmatory evidence for the existence of this walled enclosure was given by seers who told relatives of the dead that they had visited the Po looking for the souls of
the deceased, in order to bring them back to Pukapuka, but that they could
not discover the souls and therefore assumed that they had been consumed
372 in this fire. It is possible that this legend of a fire burning in the Under-
world represents a survival in Pukapuka of the widespread Polynesian idea
171 of an underworld fire visited by a culture hero who brought fire back to
mortals, an idea that has perhaps been affected by missionary teaching.

The souls of living, dying, or dead men that visited the Underworld seem
774 to have had about equal chances of escaping back to mortal body or being
ensnared in the Po and remaining there forever. Each of the stopping
775 places mentioned by Wotoa and Te Yoa was either a place which reminded
the soul of the world it had left, giving it the opportunity to go back before it was too late, or was a trap designed to catch the unwary soul and so draw it on ever deeper into that part of the Underworld from which there is no return. Perhaps this idea of equal chances is a reflex of the number of times Pukapukans have seen unconsciousness in sick people unaccompanied by heart cessation or decay of the body. If, for instance, the soul balancing on the oscillating stone of Yokamani was not precipitated into the Po likuliku then it still had an opportunity of returning to the upper world. But the soul that washed in the fresh water springs washed away all memory of the upper world, and its chances were proportionately less. When the soul reached the house of Leva, the gods smelled its arrival, and always anxious for fresh company to amuse them with stories, singing, and dancing, they insisted on taking the soul from Leva's mat. This represented the ultimate depth of the Underworld from which there was no returning, or at least

[774] from which there is only one story of a return, that of Milimili who was assisted by the gods, Tulikalo and Tangata-no-te-moana.

775 When a new soul became finally imprisoned in the Underworld, it was welcomed by all its deceased relatives, who came forward and provided a feast for the new spirit. There were no class distinctions in the Po; hence there was no special reception or treatment for a chief. Spirits did not grow old or mature in the Po. People who died old were looked after by relatives who had died young. Babies never grew up. The old cared for the children, and the young men and women provided food for the rest of the community.

775 539 Final knowledge of the Underworld before white contact was derived from a visit of the seer Levi:

> One night Levi heard certain sounds of strange music which he diagnosed as slit gong beats of a rhythm unknown on Pukapuka. The music was obviously coming from two wooden gongs played by a skilled musician. Levi decided to follow this strange music, so (in a trance) his soul left his body and journeyed to the Underworld. It came to the place where the gods were merrily dancing to the rhythms of Tulikalo. Levi watched in admiration the skill displayed by this god as he beat out the most intricate rhythms. Levi admired also the beautiful gong sticks of polished ironwood and longed to possess these for himself. Levi drew near the god, and, profiting by a sudden diversion of attention, snatched the sticks from the place where Tulikalo had laid them, and sped back to Pukapuka. Avoiding all entanglements, Levi duly arrived on Wale. In the morning he showed the sticks to the people, explaining how he came into possession of them. One stick was later lost, but the other is in Pukapuka today, doing duty as a knife handle.

MAGIC

789 [776 782] The use of black or white magic in Pukapuka was apparently extremely rare in former days. Most of the many references to white magic in the stories refer to the power exercised by the gods to protect or otherwise serve their worshipers. The gods were communicated with and asked to do these favors through the ordinary method of prayer (*takutaku*). The priest Pakai is said to have procured favors from his god by making some use of *welo* bark streamers on his headdress, but whether these streamers were used as a sort of bait object, no informant could tell. Two examples of white magic involving the use of bait objects are found among the stories: Vaetuaniu endows a coconut midrib with the power of speech by spitting into a coconut cup which he places on the midrib; the chief Tuyiyauola, in Yayake, has a woman bear him a child by putting some of his semen in a coconut cup and floating it over the water to the woman who rubs it over her body (p. 381).

No white magic technique was remembered by informants. The Polynesian word *karakia* is not found in the Pukapukan dialect. The word *talotalo*, however, means an incantation, in the sense of a spell which magically causes a desired result. The only example of a *talotalo* that informants could recall was the one used by Yimata to put together again the tree chopped down by

775 more correct name would be *yele mauli.* Many informants were repeatedly
questioned about this soul trap, separately and together, and all agreed that
774 Gill must have confused a bird trap or bird noose which he saw hanging to
a tree with the story he heard of the *matapili* noose in the Underworld. One
114 type of bird noose, *yele manu* (fig. 4b),[1] consisted of loops of sennit suspended from a *puka* tree. It is significant that Gill talks about a birdlike
754 representative of a soul passing into the *ere vaerua.* It is likely, I think,
that in order to blacken the past, a convert made for Gill what he said was a
soul trap. From the old chant, "Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga", informants quoted the following phrases to confirm their point that the noose was
used in the Underworld only:

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Na yelea ko te talakelake	You were tied to the *talakelake* tree
Wakawiwi ake te mauli, koa mate, koa elo	(Your) soul was tangled (in the trap), died, stank,
Wakatautili ai taua i te pu o te puka a Tangi,	We were both thrown to the foot of the *puka* tree of Tangi,
Wakaulu ko te wale positini . . .	Entered the house of a thousand posts (the house of Leva) . . .

If the soul trap was really an instrument of witchcraft, as Gill was assured, then it acted through the force of suggestion. The priest did not work over the insect or bird that passed through the noose with incantations in order to provoke sickness or death.

789 Several informants were questioned on different occasions as to their
knowledge of black magic. Examples of black magic in western Europe
were adduced to give them confidence, but even this lead got no results.
Even if informants have willfully forgotten material on sorcery which must
754 to them smack of heathen practices, one might expect some survival of precautions directed against sorcery in the treatment of objects closely connected with the person. But the Pukapukan customs governing the disposal
of objects charged with high personality tension, as compared with customs
elsewhere in Polynesia, where fear of sorcery led to rigorous tapus or the disposal of such objects, indicate that there was extremely little fear of sorcery
154 in Pukapuka:

514 The sea took care of adult excreta, and of most child excreta; no precautions are
taken today to dispose of excreta of children too young to go to the sea. Adults expectorate anywhere. Finger and toe nails are cut anywhere; formerly they were bitten
302 off and spat out onto the ground. According to informants, the hair was rarely cut
during life, and was worn long by both sexes. Some informants said that hair clippings
were buried; others said that hair was often cut from a dead person, particularly from
the head of a deceased favorite child, and the hair plaited into a malo or else into a cord
262 by which pearl-shell ornaments were hung on the breast. Formerly, if a woman's hair
757 fell into food, the food was considered spoiled by this contact. When a tooth pained,
it was pulled out, taken to the god house of the lineage and deposited there with a
292 prayer to the god of the lineage that he send a new tooth to replace the one thus given
to the god. Old clothes were burned or used as rags. Today clothes are worn to rags

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1. [See p. 64, category 116—analyst.]

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type of ideas that are embodied in the songs. Lack of recording apparatus renders it impossible to present the music.

1	Ae te kau ia e, i a Mea ko monomono, ae te kau ia e, i a Mea ko monomono Maka ko katia i loto o te ulu ngayu, katia i loto o te ulu ngayu Ko wakaaukaauka te muli o te kiole, ko wakaaukaauka te muli o te kiole Toko toi toi toko toko to; toko toi tai toko toko to Tai tai ta tai taka tiki ta Tai tai ta tai taka tiki ta	Oh, the group, So-and-so is inserting (copulating) [repeat] (He) throws (her), bites her in the *ngayu* grove [repeat] The back of the rat goes up and down [repeat] [Nonsense syllables]
2	Ko yaele mai la koe, ko yaele mai la koe Ko lomia e Taua, lomia e Taua ke tu te muavaka	You walk there, you walk there You are pressed down by Taua, pressed down by Taua till the front of the canoe (sexual organ) is erect
3	Moe lai i a Te Yei la te makemakenga o Matawea Wati ai te titi o Tolota Wati ai te titi o Tolota	Te Yei slept there in the soft place at Matawea Broke there the *titi* of Tolota. [repeat]
4	Yaele matou ki Motu Kotawa wakaangiangi ki te matangi Yaele matou ki Motu Kotawa wakaangiangi ki te matangi Kite atu matou i te ngaipu palia palia Wati te tuki	We walk to Motu Kotawa to cool off in the breeze [repeat] We see a coconut shell drifting, drifting The pounder is broken.
5	E te manu e nimonimo ia E te manu e nimonimo ia Wakakaukau atu la te wale Wakakaukau atu la te wale Matiatia matiatia mati mai Mati mai ki konei e	Oh the birds are swooping down [repeat] They gather round the houses [repeat] They are caught, they are caught Caught here.
6	E te manu e welele mai la E te manu e welele mai la Tau i te puapua ia wanga Tau i te puapua ia wanga	Oh the bird is flying there [repeat] It lights on the *puapua* tree in the clearing. [repeat]
7	Lumakina i te vai o Malelé Ke tu te mea pe te yitolo Yioyio mai ke liko ai te ngongo	Dive down into the pool of Malele Till the thing (?) stands like a ghost Whistle to catch the *ngongo* bird.
8	Kakalo atu la matou e Ki Te Manu koa wewake	We look up At the Bird (Constellation, Corvus) rising
	Apaia mai ko Te Ili, apaia mai ko Te Ili Iliili matou, iliili matou Apaia mai ko Te Ili, apaia mai ko Te Ili; Iliili matou, iliili matou	Bring the Fan (modern name for Orion), bring the Fan We fan ourselves, we fan ourselves [repeat]

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Ko te kau, ko te kau o Maui	The fishhook of Maui (in Scorpio)
Ko te yiku, ko te yiku o te kiole	The tail of the rat (Coma Berenices)
Ko te yiku, ko te yiku o te kiole	[repeat]
9	
E manga tangitangi, e manga tangitangi	Singing branches, singing branches
E manga tangitangi, e manga tangitangi	[repeat]
Mei te pulaka tunu, mei te pulaka tunu	Like *pulaka* cooking, like *pulaka* cooking
Mei te pulaka tunu, mei te pulaka tunu	[repeat]
10	
E Luea to tiu e angi nei	Oh Luea, your wind blows here
E Luea to tiu e angi nei	[repeat]
Ka pa atu to vaka ki Kalaumea	Your canoe will be carried to Kalaumea
E, ka pa atu to vaka ki Mata Kalokalo	Your canoe will be carried to Mata Kalokalo
E, ka tae la koe ki tawa ma te lulu ma te wawa	You will land at the side with the people with their talo
Ka tae la koe ki Kalaumea, ka tae la koe ki Kalaumea.	You will reach Kalaumea, you will reach Kalaumea.

MISCELLANEOUS GAMES

851 Other games are played by children, by adults, and by mixed age groups. The following are simple games of this class requiring little organization or skill:

524

177 *Poloni* (a type of counting-out game). The players group themselves together and sing a song, which rhythmically counts out the members of the group. The person on whom the last count falls must stand up and dance for the company. It is probable that this game was introduced by missionaries from other islands for it is now associated with singing and dancing of Tahitian origin.

Kiki wali tua. A group of adults and older children gather together, and sing a chant. Each endeavors to remain serious while causing another to burst into laughter. The person who laughs is then made fun of by the company.

524 *Kinikini* is played by two or three persons seated near each other. The first stretches his right leg forward, the second lays his foot over the other's foot, and so on, each participant placing first one foot, then the other on top of the other's feet. On the top of the heap of feet, the players alternately place their hands, pinching (*kinikini*) the foot or hand immediately below with the thumb and index finger. In this position, they repeat a short chant. Each time the chant is finished, the player whose hand is on top removes it from the pile and licks his thumb as the others sing "yopu" (lick). When all the hands are retrieved from the pile, the chant is continued as each player removes his foot, licking his big toe.

Wakatangi ngutu is a favorite game of children and of some adults, especially women. The player contorts his face so that the skin is drawn tight over the cheek and mouth; he snaps the index and middle fingers of each hand alternately in rhythm against the cheek and chin to produce a loud sound. Children frequently play this game when intent on watching some activity or when slightly embarrassed.

526 Hopping and jumping games are played by young men, women, and children, usually in the village street. These are very popular in the cool of the evening. Endurance is the object. Various types of hopping or jumping are distinguished: *utu pepe*, in which the soles of both feet are brought up behind to touch the buttocks; *utu [illegible]*, in which the sole of one foot only is made to touch the buttocks; *utuutu*, which consists in ordinary jumping up and down with both heels kept together; and *[illegible]* in which the player hops on one foot.

TRADITIONAL HISTORY

ORIGIN

114 113 773 Two previous accounts of the origin and traditional history of Pukapuka have appeared. One was written in 1877 in the Rarotongan language, probably by a Rarotongan native missionary in Pukapuka and recorded by Gill (13). The other was recorded in Rarotongan by Ula, the father of one of our best informants, Pau, and collected by Hutchin (18), who visited the island in 1904. Though incoherent and scrappy, probably because they were hurriedly written, these accounts give details which confirm the material that I collected where it is possible to equate names. Little information about traditional history has apparently been lost in the intervening years. The origin of Pukapuka is related in the following account: 1

539 E toka kakao mai lalo o te papa o te moana. Kakao loa, kakao mai loa ki lunga. Tupu loa ki te wolo.

Ko teia atua nei, ko Tamayei, e atua teia yau mai Tonga; no Tonga i a Tamayei. Yii loa i a Tonga e Maui Potiki. Wuwuti loa, wuwuti loa, ma te tautapa ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "Onoonowiake taku ika nei, pewea?" Ko kikokiko i a Maui Potiki e tana ika ia. Wuwuti loa i a Maui Potiki. Wuwuti loa ma te valovalo ki a Maui Mua, "Onoonowiake, pewea taku ika nei?" Koa tipi te ika, tipi ki te toe kaokao, tipi ki te toe kaokao. Koa pau te kawa lunga, koa pau te wuwuti ki loto o te vaka ma te wuwuti a Maui Potiki.

Oko loa ki te kawalalo a Maui ma te talatala i a Maui ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "Taku ika nei e yaya ulua, mo?" ma te wuwuti a Maui Potiki. Wuwuti ki lunga, wuwuti ki lunga. Tuuvalo loa i a Maui Potiki, "Onoonowia te papalangi, koa lele na vave o te ika." Onoono i a Maui Mua, e ulu lakau teia. Kala loa i a Maui Mua,

"Wooo, e wenua te mea nei." Wuwuti loa ki lunga, koa oko ki te konga o tana kau. Kakalo atu latou, koa kakao mai te toe lunga o te ulu lakau. Kakao oki te toe lunga. Kakao oki te toe lunga. Wuwuti la, wuwuti la, oko ki lunga. Ili loa te vaka ki lunga. E wenua pe te ika ya wuwuti e Maui. Ko Tonga teia wenua. Koa pau ki lunga te wenua.

A rock came up from below the rock-bottom of the sea. It came up, came up on top. It grew to be large.

This god, Tamayei, was a god, this one, who came from Tonga; from Tonga was Tamayei. Tonga was fished up by Maui Potiki. He pulled up, pulled up, appealing to Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "Look here, what is my fish?" Maui Potiki was being mightily resisted by his fish. Maui Potiki pulled in. He pulled in, calling to Maui Mua, "Look here, what is my fish?" The fish was pulling, pulling to one side, pulling to the other side. The top line was finished, finished pulling inside the canoe, by the pulling of Maui Potiki.

The lower line of Maui was reached, with Maui saying to Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "My fish here is a *yoyo ulua*, isn't it?" with Maui Potiki pulling up. He pulled up, pulled up. Maui Potiki called out, "Look at the horizon, the strengths of the fish fly." Maui Mua looked, these were tree tops, Maui Mua shouted,

"Wo! This is an island." He pulled up, reached the place of his fishhook. They looked; another part of the tree-tops was appearing. Another part still appeared. And another part appeared. He pulled up, pulled up, reached the top. The canoe rocked on top. The fish pulled in by Maui was indeed an island. Tonga is that island. The island floats on top.

1 [See category 539 or 116-- analyst.]

5'39

Mimia loa te wui atua, ya lulu i lunga o te wenua. Yuki mangamanga te wui atua. Wano atu te wui atua ulu ke tai ona konga mamai. Wo na toe atua ulu atu ki na toe konga. Yau loa la i a Tamayei. Ulu mai la te moana ki Tokelau. Yau loa mai Tonga, yau loa e, oko mai loa ki te moana nei, pae ai lunga o te kilitai. Takayeu ai ma te onoono ki lalo. Ko kakao mai te watu ia mai lalo o te papa o te moana. Onoono ai, e waingata. Niko loa wakawou ki Tonga. Kali ai iai ke to loa, yau oki wakawou. Ko tona tino ya yau ia e tino kaka. Yau oki ki te mea ya onoono ai tamumua. Inoino ai ma te onoono ki lalo. Koa yau loa ki te tiketike te tupunga o te watu ia. Wano oki wakawou ki Tonga, kaliai iai ke to mo loaloa. Yau oki wakawou. Lele mai loa, ino oki ki lunga o te mea ya onoono ai tamumua, onoono atu ki lalo; koa wakakena mai mai lalo o te newu o te moana. Wano loa wakawou ki Tonga. Kali ai ke ili ni lua ayo. Yau loa, ko tona tino atua tika. Kakao mailunga o te kilitai. Onoono atu ki te mea ya wakakena mai i te tolu o tona yaunga. Koa wano loa ki te ula. Pae loa la i lunga. Onoono loa, kali loa, kali loa, kali loa e; ula ki lunga. Kite loa i atu, e wenua. No loa ki lunga o te watu.

Ngawa loa te tangata mai loto o te watu. Ko Mataliki te ingoa. Onoono atu i a Tamayei, e tangata ko i loto o te watu. Wulungia loa i a Tamayei. Wano atu loa i a Tamayei i tona wanonga. Koa pau tona talatala.

No loa i a Mataliki i lunga o te watu, ma te wakaope mai te kelekele, te kilikili ki lunga o te toka.

Ke no i a Mataliki ki lunga o te toka nei, wowou loa i te wenua nei e te wui atua. Wowou atu, talipili atu ki Yamoa; wowou i te toe konga, talipili atu ki te atu laulau. Wowou atu oki ki tokelau, talipili atu ki te Pa Lakawanga. Ko wai ta latou yanga nei i loto o te po. Onoono atu i a Mataliki, koe wolo tona wenua, koe talipili mai ai wenua ki tawa o tona wenua. Lili loa i a Mataliki. Wakamalama loa i te ao. Mimia loa te wui atua. Maka loa i ta latou wowounga i te wenua.

The many gods who had gathered on the island hastened away. The gods ran off in all directions. The gods went to seek their place to hide. Some gods went to other places. Tamayei came then. He searched throughout the sea to Tokelau. He came from Tonga, he came, finally reached this sea, drifting on the surface. He circled around looking down. The rock was arising from the rock-bottom of the sea. He looked, it would take a long time. He returned again to Tonga. He waited there for a while, then came again. His body with which he had come was the body of a ghost tern. He came again to the thing he had first seen. He circled over it, looking down. The growth of the stone was becoming high. He went again to Tonga, waited there for a longer time. Then returned again. He flew here, circled around in the air above the thing he had first seen; it was whitening below the spray of the sea. He went again to Tonga. He waited there for a few days to pass. He came, his real body of a god. He appeared on top of the surface of the sea. He looked at the thing that had been turning white at the third of his comings. It was turning red. It floated on top. He looked, he waited, waited, (and) waited e-e-e-, it was red on top. He knew, it was an island. He stayed on the rock.

Then the man from inside of the stone burst through. Mataliki was his name. Tamayei looked, it was a man inside the stone. Tamayei was afraid. Tamayei went off on his journey. His story is finished.

Mataliki stayed on the stone, piling up sand, the corals on top of the rock.

While Mataliki was living on the stone, the island was being built up by the many gods. They built it up, it grew near to Samoa; they built up the other part, it neared the distant lands (*atu laulau*). They built it up also to the north, it neared the Lakawanga group. They were doing this work in the middle of the night. Mataliki watched lest his island grow large, lest some islands come close to the side of his island. Mataliki became angry. He made the day dawn. The many gods disappeared. They dropped their building-up of the island.

539 Yau loa Te Atua Vaelua ki a Mataliki. Talatala loa ki ai, "Wano koe aluna e wawine ma koe. Teia te konga ka wano ai koe; wano ki Tongaleleva, wano koe ki a Te Alo Talanga. Koisi tana tamawine. Ko te wawine ia ka aumai e koe, wai wawine ma koe; ko Te Vaopupu te ingoa o te tamawine." Wano loa i a Mataliki, wano loa, wano loa, e, oko kiai. Ulu atu ki te wawine na talatala mai i a Te Atua Vaelua. Kitea loa e Mataliki. Tango loa i a Mataliki i te tamawine ia, aumai loa ki Te Ulu o Te Watu na tupu ai i a Mataliki.

Nono ai te tokalua, nono ai, nono ai, e, koa loa te vaia. Yapu loa i a Te Vaopupu. Wanau loa, to loa te tama, e tamatane, ko Tumulivaka te ingoa. Pupute oki wakawou, to oki; e tamawine, ko Te Matakiate te ingoa. E tautua no Tumulivaka. Nono loa te tokawa. Nono ai ma te oooono i a Tumulivaka ki te waiwai a Mataliki. Koa opoopo i te wui atua ki ona tawa. Ooooono loa i a Tumulivaka, ka kavea te wenua e Mataliki ki te wui atua. Lili loa i a Tumulivaka. Aka loa i te wenua, motu. Teka i a Mataliki ma Te Vaopupu ki te kaoko ki lalo. Teka i a Tumulivaka ma Te Matakiate ki te mata wenua. Oti ai. Tawanga loa ka tamaliki; tawanga ka matutua. Oti ai te tala o te tupuanga o te wenua.

The god Vaelua came to Mataliki. He said to him, "You go to seek a wife for yourself. This is the place you shall go; go to Tongaleleva. Go to Te Alo Talanga. There is his daughter. That woman you will bring back to be a wife for you; Te Vaopupu is the name of the girl." Mataliki went, he went, went, e-e-e-, arrived there. He looked for the girl mentioned to him by the god Vaelua. She was seen by Mataliki. Mataliki took that girl, brought her back to the Head of the Rock which had grown Mataliki.

The two lived on, lived on, lived on, e-e-e-; a long time it was. Te Vaopupu became pregnant. She gave birth to a child, the child was born, a male child, Tumulivaka was his name. She swelled again, gave birth also, a girl child; Te Matakiate was her name. She was a younger sister of Tumulivaka. The group of four lived on. They lived on with Tumulivaka watching the doings of Mataliki. He was gathering the many gods at his side. Tumulivaka watched, Mataliki was going to give the island to the many gods. Tumulivaka got angry. He stamped on the island; it broke in two. Mataliki and Te Vaopupu moved to the western side. Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate moved to the eastern side of the island. That was over. The two children mated and had offspring; the two parents had offspring. Finished is the story of the origin of the island.

173 It is evident from this origin story and from the genealogy (table 4,
173 p. 241)[1] that the mythical establishment of the population of Pukapuka came about through brother-sister marriages and close kin inter-marriage. The two children of Mataliki, Punga and Punga Momoto, are apparently introduced into the genealogy to account for the origin of the maternal lineages. Nothing more is heard of Te Vaopupu; unlike her daughter, she does not seem to have become a goddess.

173 The genealogy (table 4, p. 241) gives a total of 22 generations from Mataliki to the present day. Following the accepted practice of allowing 25 years to a generation, a practice which seems to err greatly on the liberal side, for atoll life at any rate, the founding of Pukapuka is set about 550 years ago. But this figure does not allow for the indeterminate number of years after the time of Wue and the seismic wave; a generation or more may have passed at this time without leaving any record. Confirmation of this is

1. [See category 173 or 116 — analyst.]

173 occurred before the wave, but the chief at the time is forgotten. It is likely that it was during the reign of Kamola or before. The translation[*] of the
173 textual account follows:

THE REVENGE (LITERALLY, THE OVEN) OF TWO GIRLS

6'39
173 They were from Tonga. These were their two brothers: Manawune and Tangaloa. The two girls went to Yayake. They climbed up at Na Tua-wuewue. They chanted. The island listened to the beauty of their voices. They went through the land to (the chief) Tuyimate. (The people) were lifted up to the place to be made merry by the two girls. Tuyimate was placed below. Above were the two girls. They had climbed up on Na Tua-wuewue. "O Tuyimate, just look upward." Tuyimate looked up. The two girls fell down. Both were killed.

The night darkened. The two spirits went to Tonga to the place where were their two brothers, Manawune and Tangaloa. They climbed up on to the platform of the house. They, the spirits, cried: "We have both been killed." Their two brothers asked, "One left? All? None left? Both finished?" That was over. Their two brothers arose, girt on their malos, seized their weapons, launched the canoe, climbed in. They paddled to Yayake. Before their going they had already fought with Tokaipole and Taupeloa.

Arrived at Yayake, they burned Na Tua-wuewue. Finished, they went to the copulating places. These were the copulating places (*yua*): Poike, Niutao, Tane, Tapungaye. First to the *yua* of Poike; they fought with Poike, struck Poike dead. They also struck down all the people. They went to the *yua* of Niutao, fought with Niutao, struck Niutao dead. They also destroyed his *yua* completely. They went to the *yua* of Tane, fought with Tane, struck Tane dead, ravaged his *yua*. They went to the *yua* of Tapungaye, fought with Tapungaye, struck Tapungaye dead, destroyed his *yua* completely. They ravaged the entire island.

Tokaipole and Taupeloa heard of this. The two of them came. They (four) met again. Tokaipole and Taupeloa spoke, "We can not fight, we have already fought in Tonga." We shall sail away."

The people of Yayake sailed away. Some thousands went to some islands, other thousands to other islands. The group in which were Tokaipole and Taupeloa came to Pukapuka. They came to the south, where is the islet, Ko. They landed at Te Aumaloa. Taupeloa and Tokaipole talked, "Let us stay close to this island. Yayake is a bad-mouthed island. From early times the mouth of Yayake has been spoken of. We two shall break with Yayake so that we are completely apart." They went to the back of the island to the west of which Matawea is the name.

The large group stayed there at Te Aumaloa. They developed work. These were their works they developed: digging out talo beds, digging wells, and planting coconut trees.

There was born Te Vave-na-to-i-Te-Aumaloa (The Warrior-born-at-Te-Aumaloa), a male child.

This was his peculiar characteristic, he flew on high like a bird. He had no wings. This was his nature: when he flew above, he would go to the sea to catch mating turtles, to catch schools of bonito, to catch schools of albacore, to bring back to the group of the many Yayake people for them to eat. This was their further activity, making talo puddings (*likoliko*) and decayed coconut (*yuni*).

There developed a grudge on the part of one woman from having received an unjustly small share of the food. Kumawawine was her name. She went to Matautu. [illegible] She swam across the water to Matawea. She spoke to Tokaipole and Taupeloa. This was her betrayal, "You two, you watch out with your ignorance. Why, there's a warrior who has grown, a strong one who flies above. This

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[*] It was suggested that they knew the Tongans were too strong for them.

539
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is his other characteristic, he goes to the sea, catches turtles, brings back bonito, brings back albacore." Tokaipole asked, "Is that so?"

Tokaipole arose, took his spear, hurled it up to the sky so that it would be seen by Taupeloa who was at sea, who was fishing. Taupeloa looked there, the spear of Tokaipole was flashing. He said to his sailors, "What is it with my man that he hurls his spear? We shall go to the shore. There is probably something that has happened." They (the crew) came back to the shore, where Kumawawine was staying.

The two asked, "What is the nature of that strong man? Is his height like that of this black tern?" Kumawawine protested, "No, it is higher." They looked out, "Is it like that of that ghost tern?" Kumawawine protested, "No". They watched the tern which flew very high. The woman said, "Yes, like that." Tokaipole seized the spear, hurled it, so that it reached the tern. Finished, they struck the woman dead. This is the reason they killed that woman, that she might not return again and tell their words.

They stayed on. Arrived at another day, they went to seek their strategy by which Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa would die. They saw their method. This was their method: an outrigger. They waited for a nasty day, pounding thunder, flashing lightning, rain. Finished. They went to press the outrigger on and so suffocate the group of the many Yayake people who had multiplied well. They killed starting from the road of Matiku. They reached the Ivi-i-Mawuke. The outrigger was broken there by one strong man. A child had also cried out, "Give me my food." No, indeed, that was a warning signal. The warrior who had broken the outrigger arose, "Wo! Yayake, danger!" The people woke up.

Tokaipole and Taupeloa went on to Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa. They were seen by him. He flew above. Tokaipole and Taupeloa chased him. Te Vave turned, he was going to fly to the other islands. He was made to return by the power of the goddess Taua. Te-Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa flew along, flew over the outer reef. Tokaipole and Taupeloa chased him from below. They thrust their spears, they did not reach up, were too low. They reached the place, the Alai-of-Palaoa. Palaoa said to Taupeloa and Tokaipole, "Come, he's a bad one, this man flies above." Tokaipole and Taupeloa said, "Here in us is your lifesaver." Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa flew, reached the sea at the channel, was going to fly to the north. The spear of Taupeloa shot out, straight to the ankle. Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa fell down.

The people gathered there. They spoke, "What is the reason that this man flew? Just split him open." They opened him, he had eight hearts. They gave him the name Watu-manava-mui (Many-hearts). They also gave the name to the place where he fell, Wakmanu-a-te-tokalua (Bird-feather-of-the-two). They took Many-hearts and buried him at the channel. It is finished.

[173]

A second account gives other details about the extermination of the Yayake people at Te Aumaloa:

The Tongan warriors cut down big logs of *puka* wood and went to the Yayake village in the middle of the night. It was the custom of the Yayake people to sleep in open-sided houses, a line of people together, their heads resting on a long log serving as a pillow. The Tongans came to each house, placed the log quietly on the line of necks, and then by pressing hard at each end of the log they suffocated between the upper and lower logs all the people resting in the house. They continued killing until they came to the last house, where a child suffering from a nightmare kept calling to its mother, "E matua, aumai aku mea ke yamuyamu ai au" (Mother, bring me my things—food—that I may eat). The cries of this child woke the people of the house so that they were awake when the Tongans appeared outside. When the log was placed on their necks, one man jumped up and broke it in two. He alarmed the rest of the people, and all ran off in separate directions. The Tongans and their supporters chased them till dawn. At daylight they came on Te Vave resting on his [illegible] [illegible]) on the outer beach. They rushed to surround him, but he rose into the air and flew off down the road. The account of his death follows the preceding account.

173 The Tongans continued to hunt down the survivors of the Yayake people. They warned the Pukapukans on Wale that the Yayake people were bad and vicious of tongue, so the Pukapukans gathered together the Yayake people, who came to Wale, took them to a space near the cemetery of i Tua in Loto village, and killed them all. A big grave (*lua*) was dug and all the bodies were thrown in. This place is known today as Te-lua-o-Yayake. Watu-manava-nui was buried on the outer beach by the reserve of Niua. The seismic wave swept away his grave and his bones, and nothing remains of him on Pukapuka today. The site of his stone bench is still pointed out on the outer beach of Motu Ko. The original stone bench was destroyed generations ago. Another was built in about the same place, but this too is in ruins; only a few fragments of stone scattered on the beach remain as mute evidence of the place where the "bird man" was wont to cool himself in the evening breezes. Tokaipole was buried on the boundary between Loto and Yato, close to the cemetery of Tua lineage. Taupeloa was buried on the boundary between Loto and Ngake, east of the main village road.

Only one person, a woman named Kaui, is remembered to have survived the extermination of the Yayake people; she died soon after without leaving issue. The wretchedness of her existence on the reef rocks, intensified by the death of her Pukapukan lover, is the theme of a popular story fragment.

173 Some time after the extermination of the people from Yayake, another canoe came to Pukapuka. It was a big double canoe (*taulua*) with a crew
173 of 300 men; its owner and captain was Luaivaipapa, a warrior (*toa*) said to have been 10 fathoms tall. His crew were all at least 5 fathoms tall. The canoe came from Tongaleleva, a land to the north of Pukapuka, because to reach it from Pukapuka navigators sailed with the south (*pua*) wind dead astern. The name refers perhaps to one of the Equatorial Islands. The story of how this canoe came to Pukapuka was told by informant Pau after discussing it with other men:

> 539
> 173 At the time of the seventh chief, Kaloa, there were two chiefs in Yayake, both possessed of special magical powers. The first chief was called Tuyiyauola; the second, Tuyimate. Whenever Tuyimate looked on a person or animal or insect, the power of his gaze killed the creature. It was he who killed the two Tongan sisters in the account given above of the Yayake people. Tuyiyauola had the power of resurrecting life. Whenever he looked on a dying thing or person, life came back again; and in the land of Yayake a dying person was always brought to him to be given new life. Tuyiyauola also had at his command a very powerful magic which could reach over the ocean, even as far as Pukapuka or Uvea. He heard of a very beautiful woman in Pukapuka and he desired her. He put some of his semen into the half of a coconut shell, covered the shell with another half shell, and set it adrift in the [illegible] at Loto village. The woman whom he desired lived close by. She felt a power inside her. She walked to the beach and found there a coconut shell. She picked it up, took it back to her house and hid it. In the middle of the night, when all were asleep, she opened the shell and found the semen inside it. She rubbed the semen over her body and felt a longing for Tuyiyauola. The

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woman waited and then discovered that she had conceived a child to which she later gave birth. The name of the woman was Yinalekimokimo. The child was a male child, but its mother gave it no name because this was the duty of its father.

The woman had two brothers whose names were Te Maunga-yui and Te Malokanetoa. These two knew that Tuyiyauola desired their sister's child to succeed him as chief of Yayake, so they set out in a canoe to carry the child to Yayake. In this land Tuyiyauola had several wives and families (*puna*). These families lived in a wooden house several stories high, with platforms superimposed one above the other. On the lowest platform lived the fifth wife of the chief; on the next platform lived his fourth wife, and so on to the topmost platform where lived the principal wife of the chief. When the Yayake people and the wives of the chief saw the two Pukapukan men arrive with another child of the chief, they were angry. "Who is this child?" they asked. "Why bring it to the chief? This child can not be an heir to him. Throw the child into the sea."

Tuyiyauola became frightened at this talk and agreed to throw the child into the sea. But when the child was dropped into the ocean and left to drown, the tame whales of the chief picked up the child and, tossing it from one to the other, threw it back onto the beach. This was hailed as a proof that the child was meant to be the heir to the chief, so it was taken in and housed by the fifth family on the lowest platform of the house. The chief soon called for the child to be brought to him on the topmost story. The eldest child of the chief by his principal wife protested, saying, "This new child must not come before me in succession to the chiefly title." But his father would not listen and ordered the child to be brought before him. As the child was coming along the edge of the topmost platform, the eldest son made magic, and the child from Pukapuka fell to earth and died with a broken neck.

When the chief found this child was dead, he desired to send a gift of sympathy to the mother in Pukapuka. He therefore looked for someone trustworthy to bear a gift of a tooth from one of his pet whales to Pukapuka. He could find no one in Yayake. He sent for the Tongaleleva people, and when they came to Yayake he asked them to bear the gift to Pukapuka. They agreed and returned to Tongaleleva to find a canoe crew.

Luaivaipapa, the captain, tested his crew by striking each man on the back of the head with the fist. If the man's head did not bend forward, he was considered strong enough to become a member of the crew, but if his head moved forward under the blow, he was discarded in favor of a stronger man. Luaivaipapa chose his crew thus and sailed again to Yayake. The chief gave him the tooth, saying, "Be very careful of this gift. If you lose it, you will get into serious trouble. Go to Pukapuka and give it to the woman Yinalekimokimo."

The canoe set off but soon ran into heavy weather. Luaivaipapa thought the tooth must be causing trouble, so he dropped it overboard. After this the weather got better and the canoe sailed well. Recalling the chief's threat of trouble if anything happened to the tooth, he decided to go on to Pukapuka, kill all the people there, and settle down himself on the island away from the anger of the chief. He made a landfall in the middle of the night. It was a dark and stormy night with rain, wind, thunder, and lightning. This bad weather was caused by the Pukapukan gods so that the strangers might not clearly see the island or the people on it. The canoe therefore came up to the reef and dropped anchor to ride out the gale and await daylight.

In the height of the stormy weather Luaivaipapa decided to go ashore with two of his men to spy out the land. The three landed on the beach at the back of Yato and walked through the bush until they came to the fish pond of Yato. They tasted the water here, found it fresh, and so called out to each other, "Teia la, lelei te yua o tai o Te Tu" (The water of the sea of Te Tu is good). They walked along the beach

used to see men higher than coconut trees. He called on his gods and then went to arouse his men. First he went to the houses of Matanga lineage, then to the houses of

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Mafiwatu, then to the houses of Yangalipole. At each of these houses he threw stones and called, but none would waken. At his own house none would waken. At last he came to the houses of Yamaunga. He threw stones, and two men came outside. These two were the brothers who had taken the child to Yayake. Kuluea said, "Why do you sleep so fast? I have seen something terrible and we are likely to be all killed." Meantime the three strangers had been seen going back to their canoe. The chief told the two men to stay on the reef near the canoe and to kill everything they saw in the water, even if it meant striking at drift rubbish.

The three Pukapukans consulted their gods and then went out to the reef. Kuluea dived into the water, swam to the canoe, and cut the anchor rope. The canoe quickly drifted away and soon drifted as far as Witi (Fiji?). When Luaivaipapa found out what had happened, he woke his sleeping men. "Pick up your paddles and give one mighty stroke," he said. The men obeyed, and with one stroke the canoe came back to Pukapuka. They dropped anchor again and went to sleep. Seeing them, the chief again cut the anchor rope. Three times he did this, three times the canoe drifted to Witi, three times with one paddle stroke the canoe came back to Pukapuka. After the third time Luaivaipapa watched carefully instead of sleeping; he saw the chief coming to the surface after his dive from the reef. He struck Kuluea with his foot, and so powerful was the blow that the chief was pushed to the bottom of the sea, where he fell on the ocean floor, alive but so crushed as to be helpless.

The god Kui saw the crushed chief. Kui gave Kuluea *lomilomi* treatments and brought him back to normal. The chief stood on a rock at the bottom of the ocean. With one mighty push he hurled himself to the surface with great speed. His head smashed into the bottom of the Tongalelevan canoe and split the canoe into fragments. Standing on one piece of the broken canoe, Kuluea knocked into the water the god house, the representatives of the gods inside the house, and all the people. The crew called out to their gods to save them, but the gods were helpless before the Pukapukan gods. Kuluea killed many of the men; the rest were killed by the two Pukapukan warriors waiting on the reef.

To revenge the death of their nephew, the two Pukapukan warriors later went to Yayake. They landed and killed all the people on the flat lands by the sea; then they went inland to the mountains and killed other people living there. They came to the copulating places (yau), and like their Tongan predecessors, they killed the people congregated in them. When they came to the village of Tuyiyauola the chief threw magic stones at them, but these failed to kill the Pukapukan men. When the chief discovered that the men were determined to kill him, he stamped his foot on the land, and the land was separated into two pieces, one of which was called Matiku, the other Rarotonga. The two Pukapukan warriors drifted away on the land called Matiku, and in the end came back to Pukapuka. Tuyiyauola remained on the part of the land called Rarotonga. This was the end of the Yayake people.

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There are several interesting points in this story of the chief of Yayake. The word that the Tongalelevans used in praying to their gods when their canoe was smashed to pieces is remembered as "tulou". This word has no meaning in the Pukapukan dialect, but the same word is used in Samoa when entering a god house. All accounts of Yayake mention the places called *yau* where groups of people met together for copulation. The same institution functioned in Pukapuka, but it is said to have been introduced from Yayake. *Yau* is recognized as a foreign word for the name of these places, the native Pukapukan word being *ati*. It was impossible to get details or an interpretation of the five-platform house of Tuyiyauola. Other accounts tell of a place in Yayake called Te Maunga-wiwi, where two mountains

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come together at their peaks to form a sort of arch or tunnel through which canoes may sail. On another occasion a warrior from Yayake named Te Palo visited Pukapuka where he introduced the four-sided gaff sail that is known by his name.

It seems impossible to decide to what land, if any, of the Pacific the word Yayake refers. The cognate Samoan word *sasa'e* refers to the east, though the Pukapuka word for this direction is *ngake*. Informants today state that Yayake refers to Tahiti, though they admit that this has been suggested to them by visitors. The word Yayake may either mean a land to the east of Pukapuka or a land from which one sailed east to reach Pukapuka. The matter may be left until further accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka have been given.

173 Some time after the defeat of the Tongalelevans a canoe came to Pukapuka from the Tokelau Islands:

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The captain of the canoe was Te Anu; other members of the crew were Kavalele, Kualeu, Tapotou, and a man whose name has been forgotten. All five were medicine men (*hoa wouwota*). This canoe landed at the channel on the west side of the atoll. The passage made by Te Mutu had been quite straight and therefore dangerous because the tidal currents ripped out through it strongly. The newcomers curved the channel and thereby slowed down the current to make a safer passage through the reef. The Tokelau men brought with them a dried medicinal plant (*lenga*) somewhat similar to a red ginger plant. It was hung from the roof of the house by a sennit string. The perfumed, thick, red oil that exuded from the plant was used by the Tokelau men as a principal ingredient in their medicines. This plant never grew in Pukapuka.

Besides their skill as medicine men, the strangers possessed other, more magical powers: they could see across the ocean to the Tokelau Islands; they had the power of transporting their bodies to the reserves, leaving only their shadows behind on Wale, and this they did when they wished to steal food from the reserves without allowing anyone to know that they had committed theft. Little is known of their stay on Pukapuka. The men did not settle down or marry Pukapukan women. They left and went back to their home islands. There is a house site in Loto known as Kualeu and another place called Pupuya (Scent—of *lenga*), and by these two names their visit is remembered today.

CONTACT WITH NASSAU

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In the time of Kuloa and Wue, seventh and eighth chiefs, close contact was maintained between Pukapuka and the island of Nassau, 40 miles southeast. The Pukapukans believe that they own this island and give the following accounts:

539 Ngalewu was a Pukapukan man who was put in charge of Nassau by the god Mataliki. Hence the saying "Na tai o Ngalewu" applied to a fair wind and calm sea on the south and east sides of Wale, the implication being that Ngalewu controlled the wind and sea of this part of the atoll from his strategic position on Nassau. Tima was a warrior who came to Pukapuka from the land called Aitutaki. He sailed on to Nassau but Ngalewu saw him and chased him away. Tima came to the submerged reef that runs west from the atoll but Ngalewu chased him from this place also, so Tima went back to Aitutaki after giving his name to the reef, Te Toka-o-Tima. The name of Nassau at this time was Te Nuku-o-Ngalewu. Some people from Pukapuka

539 were settled on the island as a sort of permanent colony, while others went back and forth between Wale and Nassau.

173 Contact between the two islands stopped at the time when the conflict between the gods made sea travel dangerous, and the island gained the name Te Motu-ngaongao (Deserted Island). Occasional fishing trips were made to Nassau up to the time of white contact, though the permanent settlement died out.

172 Pukapukan laborers working on the coconut plantation at Nassau in recent times have found stone adzes and pearl-shell breast ornaments, the latter of authentic Pukapukan design, in an old grave uncovered by the tidal wave in 1914. The people of Pukapuka hope that a long-deferred sitting of the Land Court will hand them back control of Nassau.

173 One popular legend of the contact between Nassau and Pukapuka tells of visits to Nassau for sports and fishing by a group of people calling
173 themselves Na Tini (The Many ?). It was Kuialaloa, one of this group, who moved the rock from the reef channel on Nassau that the Pukapukan canoes might make this channel in safety. Unfortunately, the gods placed the rock back again after the canoes left, a fact which makes landing at Nassau difficult to this day.

The following account gives details of a return trip from Nassau to Pukapuka, and of Kuialaloa and his father, Tautuma:

539 Kuialaloa, a man of great strength, had a fit of temper and refused to paddle the canoe or help to navigate it. His father saw this and, realizing that his son might take
173 offense if he chided him, he asked his son-in-law, Toutuinga, to remonstrate with Kuialaloa privately and persuade him to paddle. Toutuinga did this, but Kuialaloa objected to being considered lazy. He became more out of temper still and said, "Do you order me to paddle this canoe? I will show you how I do it then." Kuialaloa took his paddle, dipped it into the water, and with two powerful strokes sent the canoe surging forward with such violence that the outrigger was raised from the water and the canoe capsized. Tautuma was furious with his son's display. He called out, "You should not have done this. I am a priest, and you have broken the rule against capsizing the canoe of a priest. This will bring bad luck to me, and I will be punished by the gods for the sacrilege." Kuialaloa did not reply. The canoe was soon righted, bailed out, and the journey to Pukapuka made in safety.

Some time after, Tautuma was banished from Pukapuka for being a man of superhuman powers. He left his son behind him and sailed with his crew. When he was far from land, his god, Te Alongaoa, decided to punish him for the desecration of the canoe above-mentioned. Te Alongaoa did not plan to destroy the canoe, only to punish Tautuma mildly. The god therefore sent a small whirlwind to overthrow the canoe, tip Tautuma into the water, and make his stores so wet that the remainder of the voyage would be miserable. Tautuma and his men were in the water bailing the canoe, preparatory to climbing into it again, when the god Talitonganuku noticed them. Talitonganuku was at war with Te Alongaoa, whom he thought to injure by killing his priest. So Talitonganuku ordered his spirits to gather together the sharks round the canoe. The sharks came together and began to devour Tautuma and his men. Too late, Te Alongaoa saw this and rushed all his own fish up to fight off the sharks; but it was no use; all the crew were eaten. Te Alongaoa swore to punish the god Talitonganuku by killing the next adherent of this god he saw on the ocean. The spirits of the dead men returned to Pukapuka and told their relatives in a dream what had happened to them.

Kuialaloa was so fat when he died that after burial his body fat melted away with the heat of the ground and flowed underground from his grave into the lagoon and onto

539 the reef. The sea was covered with oil for many days and perfectly calm. The people
could not understand this, so they dug up the ground and, by following the oil seepage,
173 came to the grave of Kuialaloa, which they found still full of oil.

THE SEISMIC WAVE

173 Tradition states that directly preceding the seismic wave came a period
of license in which the people of the island, led by the woman Wanguna,
773 became blasphemous and gave themselves to sexual license in order that their
tricks and their violation of tapus, as the legend somewhat quaintly puts it,
183 would gain them fame in the future ("Wai ai latou tionga ma latou wakamatanga
ke yi o latou longo ki tupua").

The people broke the tapus on the reserve lands, desecrated the sacred religious
539 enclosures, and turned them to unsacred purposes (*lepu*). The institution of the copulation
group (*ati* or *yeu*) was developed to a high degree of organization and the people
173 gave themselves over entirely to licentious living. Wanguna herself—ambitious, nymphomaniac,
and a sorceress—is reported to have been a woman of gigantic proportions.
A man who wished to have intercourse with her had to hollow out the ground that she
731 might lie reasonably level with the ground. The men she craved accommodated her for a time, but soon became tired of her insatiable appetite. All left her but one man named Takalenga, but he too soon went, and when Wanguna saw that other women had lovers while she had none, her desire turned to anger against the people she had led astray. She prayed to the gods of her lineage, Te Atua Vaelua and Te Mangamanga, to punish the people, but the gods delayed their answer. Then one night, desecration reached a climax. The people came back from the reserves and in a wild spirit of recklessness they tore up the gravestones and leveled the stones of the religious structures. All the gods had to take notice of this new outrage and sent the wave to sweep away everything on the island—people, houses, and property. The people looked at the night: thunder was pounding, lightning was striking, the wind was blowing from all directions. Waters raged on the reefs, the sea was constantly rising, the tree tops were bending low. On the next day all the island was broken and everything destroyed. Wanguna and another woman named Tuki took refuge on hillocks in the talo beds of Uta, hillocks that are still called Te Motu-o-Wanguna and Te Motu-o-Tuki. These two women avoided being swept away, and when the anger of the waves was finished, the sea gentle and the reefs low, of the original population only these two women and fifteen men with remnants of their families survived. The names of some of these men are remembered: Te Moana, his son Te Ingoa, Te Longoke, Malowou, Te Woalu-unga-mamao, Matakoa, and Ulo, all of the Muliwutu lineage; Te Kula of Matanga lineage; four men of the Loto lineages of Tua and Yangatupule; and three men of the three Yato lineages. From this little group of people the island was gradually repopulated.

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PERIOD AFTER THE WAVE

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REHABILITATION

261 Nothing is known about the time of Te Kula, ninth chief, though it
was presumably one of great hardship for the survivors of the wave. The
621 time of Maina, tenth chief, is reckoned to have been a peaceful one (*e vaia
wakamoemoe*). Both he and his executive officer (*wola*), a man named Te
166 Kale, were concerned to husband food supplies and population so that one
would not outstrip the other. The population was still small. Maina decreed

173 that all the old villages should be temporarily deserted and that all the people
should come to live together for a time in the one village of Loto. Maina
731 decreed also that no man should take the life of another, whatever the provo-
cation; that none should live apart from the rest of the people lest he seek
168 to plot against the others and try by stealth to acquire more food than the
rest. By concentrating the people in one village until the population greatly
261 increased, Maina thought all schemes of revolt or killing would be easily
621 detected. For a time Kielu, a great-grandson of Maina and a man of great
strength, served as Maina's executive agent and saw that his orders were all
166 obeyed.

Maina foresaw the time when the people would want to go back to their own village sites again, and he thought it best that boundaries should be fixed against this time rather than be left to possible brawling and inter-village fighting with the victory going to the best fighters and not necessarily according to the needs of the population. Hence the stick wrestling contests (*tutukianga*) that fixed village boundaries as well as ownership of the reserves were held at this time (p. 33). But as long as the people were grouped in the one village, they pooled their food resources.

[244] The village reserves were for the time controlled by the supreme chief of
the island. Maina decreed that there should be rotation of use between the
reserve talo beds and privately-owned (lineage) talo beds. This rotation
was ensured by placing a prohibition (*laui*) of the chief upon the beds not
in use. He had the people dig new talo pits and plant many nuts. Maina
also put special controls on fishing, closing some parts of the reef and sea,
leaving other parts open.

THE LAW OF PULE PAE

173 Tuliayanga, who succeeded his father Maina, carried on the plan of hav-
ing the people live in one village and use all the reserves as a common food
731 supply. It is evident that the population was increasing more rapidly than
the available food and that much stealing was going on, because Tuliayanga
683 had built round the reserve of Uta a high stone wall with but two gates, and
stationed a strong guard to control the reserve which he made tapu (*wakaya*).
624 As this did not stop the stealing by the strong which consequently penalized
the weak, Tuliayanga called a meeting of the men of the island to discuss
whether people caught stealing should be put to death. This meeting to
consider the law of *pule pae* (the guard kills) was heated, and because no
clear decision could be reached, the matter was submitted to the executive
officer, Te Tau, to make a final decision for all the people. Te Tau was in
favor of *pule pae*, which became the law of the land.

539 Three days afterwards the two daughters of Te Tau visited the reserve by stealth
173 and were caught by the Loto guard. The guard detained the girls and sent word to Te

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> Tau, asking him what was his favor. Te Tau was thunderstruck (*to te palo*) when he heard the news. He replied that nothing was to be done and the girls freed from custody. Two sons of the chief, however, had previously strayed to the reserve and been killed by the guard. Tuliayanga heard that Te Tau had saved his two daughters after his own two sons had been killed. He rushed to the house of Te Tau and said, "You killed my two boys, now you wish to save your two girls", implying only too plainly that Te Tau, who was instrumental in passing the law, had no right to defy it. Tuliayanga turned to the guard and called out, "Yelu!" (Comb!), meaning that the hair of the girls was to be combed forward so as to expose their necks. This done, the strangling cord was passed over their necks and the girls were strangled to death before their father. Their bodies were buried in the cemetery, not thrown into the sea as were the bodies of other thieves.

Two men, Tuiva and Kupolu, were successful in defying the blockades of the guard:

> Tuiva, a warrior, strong and unafraid, was married to a daughter or granddaughter of Tuliayanga. He would go to the reserve at night, climb a tree, and get nuts. When the guard heard the noise and came to investigate, Tuiva threw down immature nuts so that they landed some distance away from the tree. The guard's attention would be diverted by this noise and, while they were combing the ground, Tuiva came down from his tree and escaped from the reserve. This ruse succeeded several times. Though no one actually saw him in the reserve, the guard decided that only one man was strong and daring enough to go to the reserve so openly, and this was Tuiva.
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> On a later occasion, when Tuiva was in the reserve, the guard refused to budge from the tree where Tuiva was hiding, even though they heard noises elsewhere. Each guard was armed with a stick. Tuiva resorted to another ruse: he pulled off two coconut midribs and carried them halfway down the trunk of the tree, where he hurled them to the ground with such force that the guard thought it was a body that had fallen. The guard rushed to the midribs and hurled their sticks at it. By the time they discovered that Tuiva was not buried under the leaves, he had again escaped. He was recognized, however, and the guard hurried after him. Tuiva reached home and told his wife about the mishap, saying he would sell his life dearly if the guard tried to arrest him.
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> The guard went to Tuliayanga and reported that his son-in-law had been stealing. Tuliayanga's daughter also appeared to plead for the life of her husband, saying she would substitute for him if the guard decided to strangle him. Tuliayanga was touched by the appeal of his favorite daughter and was also somewhat afraid of the powers and strength of Tuiva, knowing that if the guard went to get him, much blood would be shed on the island. Tuliayanga therefore ordered the guard to allow Tuiva to go free.
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> At about the same time another daring warrior, Kupolu, would go to the reserve and walk out before the eyes of the guard carrying bunches of nuts in his arms. If any of the guard tried to intercept him, Kupolu put down his nuts and openly engaged the guard in a struggle, almost always succeeding in throwing many of them into the talo swamps before the others scattered. This he did so often that the people said, "Why kill the weak people for trying to get food when the strong warriors like Tuiva and Kupolu can get food from the reserves and none can stop them!" This seemed reasonable to so many people, Tuliayanga included, that the chief abrogated the law of *pule pae*.

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CIVIL WAR

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Though the law of *pule pae* was abrogated, the reserves were still common property and the people were living in Loto. Some were of the opinion that it was time to go back to the old three villages with village control of the reserves. To decide this question, Tuliayanga called a meeting of

173 the sub-chiefs and men of the island at the place Matano in old Yato village.
166 From the accounts it seems that many were in favor of no change, and the
669 matter might have been so decided but for the action of a group of Ngake
621 men, strongly opposed to continuing the emergency system. What happened
at the meeting is vividly told in the following translation of an account
recorded by Talainga.

THE FIGHT IN WALETOA

● 539
173 There was a meeting of the chief and the big influential men, and all the men of
669 this island, all together. This was their discussion: they were going to continue the island as one, make it into one village. In the time of Tuliayanga this discussion was held.

The men all went to talk in Matano. They agreed to the talk. There were eight men of Ngake who did not want to go to the meeting: there were two chiefs, Wekao of Matanga and Tawaia of Muliwutu, and in addition Titoko, Yeutaka, Aveave, Kaveu, Takatakai, Taonge. They did not agree that the island should be made into one. They wanted to live in the villages in which we now live.

The men waited for that group to come. The hanging of the net of Te Laupapa at the shore of Waletoa was finished by the many men. It was a net to make peaceful the spirits of men, so that ideas in disagreement with the decision would not arise. All the men waited for the group of eight who were missing to come. The men spoke of the reason that group did not come. The many men watched from Matano. There was something becoming visible on Waletoa. The many men said that there indeed they were leaping to the shore of Waletoa. The group of eight looked, the net of Te Laupapa, the god of Muliwutu, was stretched there. Titoko, a Muliwutu man, ran forth. He tore the net. The men at Matano saw the peace net of Te Laupapa[17] torn by the group.

One group of men said, "Don't do anything, leave it like that, so that the angers may only rage, lest people go over to their side." They looked at an old man who was coming down from Waula, going to the meeting. Moene was the name of the man; he was a chief of Matanga. When he looked at Waletoa, at the net of Te Laupapa torn by the group of eight, Moene became angry and insulted the group. This was his insult: "Having eaten menstrual pads, they spoil the island; they have torn the peace net of Te Laupapa." Moving over to the side, he picked up a sinker stone, threw it at the group.

When the many men gathered at Matano saw, one group of men objected: "Wai! who is the bold fellow? That is the god-piercer, the trouble-maker." They saw Titoko who was jumping over. Titoko hit him in the back of the head. Moene fell down. He died.

When the men saw that Moene had fallen down, they rushed off with the calling of the mouths, "The trouble-maker." The stone (island) was definitely boiling with civil war.

The many men fetched weapons, ran back. The group of eight were feinting on the meeting place of Waletoa. They threw at each other with the weapons. Indeed the many men were quite distracted. Of the eight, no man of theirs was to die. Frightened was one group of the many men, out of breath another. Another group climbed on top of the houses to hide. As to the eight, none of their men had to fear. They had all been

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578 [17] The "net" of Te Laupapa was no real net but consisted of a length of sennit from which hung strips of *welo* bark. Whenever a meeting of people from the whole island was held, or when
626 a meeting of people of a lineage was held, this net was always taken from the god house of one of the lineages and hung up close to the beach. It was a reminder to the people that the meeting was
778 to be peaceful and that violence would be punished by the god under whose protection the net was placed. The tearing down of the net was a sign that conflict was so acute that it could be settled only by violence. The man who tore down the net had not only to take his part in the fighting but also had to face punishment by the god, as happened to Titoko in the fight at Waletoa.

> 173 539 injured, but their god had made well the places where they were injured, hit by the many men.
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> 669 Tawaia, one of the eight, ran below the house. Lunananga heard from on top of the house, it was Tawaia's voice. Lunanga (*sic*) jumped from on top of the house, split Tawaia's head with his billet club, the head was cracked. Tawaia was a brother of Lunanga. This is the reason Lunanga hit Tawaia: Tawaia and the others had not told their plan to him and the other group of Ngake.
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> Te Laupapa, the god of Tawaia and the others, turned there, folded together the split head of Tawaia, it was all right again. Tawaia ran on chasing the men, when the splitting of Tawaia's head was over. The many men threw at each other, among themselves only. They did not turn to the group of eight, to strike with aim. Indeed, the blood was flowing red on top. Indeed, the group which had died was nearly lost in the blood from the people. Indeed also, the many men had become few in number, they were nearly all finished, there remained only a few. But of the group of eight, not one of their men was mortally injured.
>
> When the fighting was over, they lived other days thereafter. The armpit of Titoko became festered, from his tearing of the net of their god, Te Laupapa. The other seven were not affected. Deaths were theirs in fights in later times.
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> The doings of this island, the ideas which mistakenly direct the takings (decisions) of the island, which are not correct, these bring misfortune. Thus the many men were finished off. But the group of eight had been right, had wanted to live according to the customs of the island from the origin of the island, the living in villages. Thus they had good luck; there was not mortally injured a single man of theirs. Finished is the story of the fight at Waletoa.

173 669 621 166 Other accounts of this incident say that the beach and sea ran red with the blood of the killed and injured. Old insults and injuries, long forgotten but now flaring up anew, added to the violence of the hostilities. Although the women hauled the injured men from the fighting ground, by the end of the day Waletoa was a place of shambles.

As a result of the fighting, Tuliayanga yielded to the pleas of his advisers and decreed that thenceforth all the people were to live in their old villages and that the reserves were again to be under village control. No doubt by this time the food supplies were again normal, and it must have irked some men to remain separated from their own village homes and to see the reserves, controlled by the villages from time immemorial, thrown open to all comers. It was a common consciousness that the time for repressive or stringent measures, necessary in the famine succeeding the great death, was now past, that was crystalized by the exploits of Tuiva and Kupolu and by the dramatic conflict at Waletoa leading to the restitution of normal living and economic conditions.

173 Tuliayanga was now an old man, but one more incident is reported from his reign. This was the arrival of four big double canoes from the land of Yiva:

> When the canoes were sighted off the point Te Auma, the chief and the people went to investigate. Tuliayanga had no heart to fight so he tore off a cluster of *ngayu* leaves and threw them in the air. As the leaves fell, he struck at them with his walking staff and so great was his power that not one leaf fell without being struck aside and dispersed. Then the chief said: "Let the canoes pass away as these leaves are dispersed.

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 Meantime Malotini was seen coming back from his fishing. He suspected no
trouble and was unarmed. He was caught by the old men and hustled off to his ceme-
579 tery. A grave was dug for him and he was stood near it. The old men refused him
permission either to don his death malo and pearl-shell ornaments, even though his
761 father was hurrying toward the place with them in his hands, or to embrace his parents
and his cousin-in-avoidance, all of which might have made death easier. They roughly
pushed him into his grave and buried him alive. His family composed a lament over
the death of the young man. It is a good example of the use of clipped metaphor and
533 allusive reference so characteristic of all Pukapukan chants. The parents and brothers
of Malotini address both Malotini and the killers in the various phrases that make up
the *ale* dirge:

539 Moe ma te toto e,
Tatou tutangi ki motu e,
Na [illegible] kape i mata e, kape ma na vae.

Tino yaulolo, ye vavea, yaele wua mai tai nei—

Tiaki te kakai matua, na lutua na vaia,
E tangia lautou i te latou tangata,
Wali wua mai ki a koe te potiki o te takanga
o te wui matuwaka,
Koe ngalo koe, o [illegible] i te pou te,

To yiku tala wawali ko te matamatangi—

Na wakatokatoka ki lalo
Wakatupoupou atu koe ki Mulivae,
E toku wuvale, e toku taina,
Aku wakaaloalo mai koe ko te wale atua.

Na patua ko koe o Talikui.

Namuiui koe pe Wehi,
Ko ye tuu na wainanga o tangata o te aia
Yamoa.
Koe yue koe te tala na i te tala o Tiki na
patua.
Ko te vaka o Te Palo ya tele.
Tenei au e tangatanga wakamaeavo
Wakamaliinga i te kainga ma te kau na to a
kotou ma te ulu leia kotou.
E oku taina, ke vave ako au pe Uye,
Ke aku tuki atu i na ngutu lalaloka e
Malaia aku, nanawu.
Koe toka mai te winangalo e kai tangata?

Sleep, bleeding.
We cry out to the island,
The soul buried to the eyes, buried also the
feet.
Gentle body, never fussing, who simply walked
along the beach here—
The old people waited, it was their time,
You old men cry for your man,
They turn to you the youngest of the friends
of all the mature men,
You are lost, you whose penis I want to eat,
you of the main post in the god house.
Your barbed tail (?), turn to the direction of
the winds—
You journeyed south
They forced you over to Mulivae cemetery.
Oh, my vaginal secretions, oh, my brother,
My thoughts are filled with you in your god
house.
They killed you in the middle of the place
Talikui.
You smelled like Wehi.[28]
They don't punish the wrongdoers (?) of the
people of the Samoas.
Your story comes in (follows) the story of
Tiki who was killed.
The canoe of Te Palo sailed swiftly.[29]
Here I am wailing, sighing,
Make known the lineage and the group which
killed you and your happy group.
O my brother, if only I were strong as Uye,[30]
So that I might beat those insulting mouths
So hard that they become unconscious.
Your desire (O old men), to kill people has
subsided, has it not?

173 It seems that the killing of the young men of Yato was not an isolated event but
that several of these apparently senseless killings occurred at different times—so that the
579 people of Wale began to fear that soon all the young men would be killed off. One
time when Alatakupu and a few of his friends went to Motu Ko for a few days' fishing,
643 the people of Wale got together and decided to end Alatakupu's reign. They prayed
for the assistance of Taua and then hurried over to Ko before their resolution should
669 fail. They landed on the islet and butchered all the old men they could find. They came
across two warriors of Manihiki blood, bodyguards of Alatakupu, named Tualangi and
Palloa. These two men prayed to their Manihiki gods to protect them when they saw
the war party coming. But they were captured. A piece of sennit was twisted about
their necks and pulled tight to strangle them. Twice the sennit broke; but the third
time the protection of the Manihiki gods deserted them. At this moment Alatakupu
rushed on the scene. His eyesockets were always big, but now in his rage at finding
his people in revolt against his rule his eyes were enormous and bloodshot; they blazed
with anger like two burning embers in his face. Shouting the name of Taua to help
him, Alatakupu rushed to strike down the men of Wale. They drew back in fear, but

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[28] A character in a popular story.

[29] A reference to the swift journeys of Te Palo between Samoa and Pukapuka. Secondary symbolism obscure.

[30] A man of gigantic stature and strength.

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It seems, however, that the comparative abundance following recovery from the effects of the seismic wave did not long continue, because the records speak of another famine in Tuiva's period. It is likely that the population was again increasing faster than the food supply, necessitating more stringent measures than usual to control the food that all might have a fair share in it. Again it seems that Tuiva's assumption of the regency was not without opposition. This was centered in the person of another Ngake man, Watumoana, a priest of the god Tulikalo, who dwelt mainly in the god house attached to the sacred enclosure of this god. Watumoana was jealous of the power of Tuiva and wished to procure some of this power for himself, or alternately to become regent of the island in place of Tuiva. The bitterness between the two men, based on their rivalry, only waited for some incident to bring them to open conflict. The story of their conflict is a favorite one of the Pukapukans. The account recorded by Talainga deserves reproduction in full because of the wealth of detail bearing on every aspect of Pukapukan culture:[1]

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Tuiva was a child of Taonge, one of the eight of Ngake. Matanga was his lineage. This was in the time after the law of *pule pae*. It was a period without a chief. Tuliayanga was dead.

Takitini was a Loto man of the Tua lineage. He had been ordered by Tuiva to guard the point of Utupoa against the group who went out along the Ngake reef and who might be up to mischief returning from Ko. It was a time of famine. The island had not yet developed well. The men of the island were few in number; they had been finished off in the *pule pae*.

The children of Tuiva went to grope for fish along the reef. Takitini watched them coming from the reef. Takitini ran forth, snapped his fingers on the tops of their heads, chased them so that they would go home. Takitini said disapprovingly, "The eyes of the thieves." The children went, told Tuiva. Tuiva did not listen. Takitini was his brother. Besides, it was he who had placed him (Takitini) to protect the point at Utupoa. These were only the words of children.

Arrived at another day, Tuiva again chased his children, saying to them, "Why do you stay doing nothing? What about us, we are hungry. Why do you not go to fetch some food for us?" The children went again to the Ngake reef. They were seen again by Takitini. Takitini again went forth. He spanked them, spearing them in the ribs with his stick. He didn't spear them really; he merely frightened them so they would not go again. The children complained again to Tuiva, "We have been whipped by Takitini; he speared us in our ribs with his weapon." Tuiva again did not listen to the telling of the children. He thought again as he had thought before.

Another day still came. He chased his children, "Why do you only sit around making yourselves hungry? Why have you not gone to get food for us?" The children refused, "We certainly will not go. Takitini spoils our skins." Tuiva objected, "Why should Takitini hurt you for no reason? I guess he was only frightening you." His children disagreed, "No, indeed, he really whips us, breaks us to pieces."

Another day came. The children went out. Takitini watched; it was clear that they were going to the reef, going on to Ko. Takitini ran to the children. He asked them, "Where are you going? You rascals, the eyes of thieves." The children protested to Takitini, "Not at all, Tuiva sent us to get something for us." Takitini answered, "What is Tuiva doing? The reserve, according to him, belongs to you, to be eaten only by you. You go back. Don't you be stubborn. I shall whip you to pieces." Takitini snapped his fingers on the backs of their heads, sent them to return home.

1. [See category 186, pp. 395-399-- analyst.]

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They invented their strange trick. They came, talking as they walked. They arrived at Te Walatapepe. One of the children among them suggested, "You make a fake, O Wakitula (the oldest); you are the one Tuiva favors. Pretend to have broken your arms and your legs; when we reach the place where Tuiva is, you cry out, pretend to be in great pain." Finished the discussion, they wrapped the arms and legs and body of Wakitula in the "bark" of the *wewi* creeper, so that it would seem that these were parts hit by Takitini with his weapon, so that Tuiva would go to kill Takitini. Finished wrapping up Wakitula, they carried him. When they drew near to the place where Tuiva was staying, Wakitula cried, raising his voice high, "Awei, my arm is broken, and my side is pierced, and my leg broken. How it hurts! You carry me carefully, don't shake."

When Tuiva heard, he recognized that this was the voice of Wakitula. He looked out with both his eyes, the hand was hanging, the arms and legs were wrapped up. Tuiva became stiff with shock. He got up, seized his weapon and his spear. He did not question the children. Tuiva thought Takitini had struck him, from the reports of the children on the other days. The children only said to Tuiva, who was running with the weapon, "Your reason for sending us was not this." Tuiva ran on. Takitini was staying in the space between Utupoa and the Motu of Te Tali. Takitini looked at Tuiva, who was running with the spear. Takitini did not know the reason Tuiva ran there. But indeed it was because of the deceitful trick of the children, which they had played on Tuiva. Takitini watched the spear of Tuiva shooting towards him from above him. Takitini warded off the blow with his stick. The hurling of Tuiva was mistaken. Takitini was a skillful person. Takitini ran away.

Tuiva chased him through the *ngayu* bushes of the place Te Kalele. Takitini climbed on top of the *ngayu*, came down in another place. He was speared by Tuiva from behind with his spear, tight in the side of the back. Takitini seized the spear, pulled it out, threw it at Tuiva. Takitini ran to Watumoana, who stayed in Te Newu.[*] He crawled up to the front of his body. Tuiva ran there, flourished his weapon, he was going to hurl it from above. Watumoana objected, "What's the matter? You do this for no reason? That's enough. You have come to me here. You are not showing me proper respect." Tuiva did not listen to Watumoana, "You get out of the way, just push aside, this man did not show respect for me and my children." Tuiva speared Takitini, hard. Takitini died. If only Takitini had turned to explain to Tuiva. I don't know, it is not known which was the man of the two of them who would get the worst of it, Takitini was a strong and skillful person. From his having killed Te Ki and Kaleva in Uta, his mind had been made dull. Then too Tuiva did not listen to the words of Watumoana. He had known that Takitini was strong, therefore Tuiva had taken revenge; he did not show respect.

Finished, Tuiva went back to his house, to his children; they were certainly all right; it was indeed only lies of theirs. Hence the saying, "The death-bringing lies of the children."

Finished the death of Takitini, Watumoana went to the crowd of Yato, they were going to kill Tuiva. Watumoana was a man of Matanga of the sub-lineage Angialulu. These are the names of the Yato group: Uilcele, Vakaua, Vakauli, Puyaka, Te Kele, and Watumoana, a Ngake man. They talked in the evening. This was their talk, they were going to kill all the men of the island, so that they were finished; the women of Pukapuka would be for themselves. This was the further decision of theirs, they were going to make Tuiva the first, he was the strong man of the time. They were going to make the rest of the men last. Finished the discussion in the evening, they went to prepare, they girt on their malos, sharpened their weapons with *pala* jawbone knives, and did their other things.

Uilcele went away to his and Matautu's house. Matautu was the wife of Uilcele. He climbed up on the platform, prepared his things. Matautu was sleeping below. His knife fell on the breast of Matautu. Matautu asked, "What are you doing there?

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[*] The name of the sacred enclosure of the god Tuilkale.

Aren't these nights for the people to sleep?" Uikele did not answer. Matautu was figuring it out in her mind, "What is the thing of this group?" Finished the doing of Uikele, he jumped down, went to the place where they were gathering. When Uikele moved outside, Matautu also went to the side of their house. This was what Matautu figured out, "Isn't this group going to kill the group of all the men?" Tuiva was a cousin-in-avoidance of hers. Besides, Katinga, the wife of Tuiva, was a blood-sister of hers.

Matautu went to Matala, where Tuiva lived at that time. She did not get right up to the house, she stood just at the side. She threw stones to the side of the house. Tuiva and Katinga were sleeping in the deep midnight sleep of the people. Tuiva was a person who slept wakefully, the sleep of the strong. Tuiva heard the stones rattling. He wakened Katinga, "Just you get up to see what are the things rattling there." Katinga stood up to look, "Nothing." Katinga came back inside their house. Katinga said it was nothing, "It's nothing probably." They listened again, rocks were being thrown. Tuiva said again, "There they are rattling again. You get up." Katinga got up again to look. Katinga again said to Tuiva it was nothing, "Why, there's nothing." Tuiva said, "Just walk out to the front."

As to the doing of Matautu, she was sheltering in the back in case Tuiva got up, because they were cousins-in-avoidance. Matautu looked, it was Katinga. She showed herself to her. Matautu said to Katinga, "Tell the group of all the men there, he is going to be killed by the group of Yato."

Katinga came, told Tuiva, "Why, you are going to be killed by the group of Yato." Tuiva listened, he did not delay. He got up, tore the net matting. He girt on his malo. He ran to his brother, Kilika. He went to Kilika, who was making pretty his voice (singing), he was lying chanting with his mates in the young men's house (*wale lopa*). Tuiva objected, "While you make happy the voice, your death is being planned. Why, we are going to be killed by the crowd of Yato."

Kilika listened to the speech of Tuiva. Kilika arose, told his companions to come carry their fighting sticks. His companions arose, girt on their malos. Tuiva said to one pair of them that they come with him to trap fish at night, so that they would have some food to go with their talo pudding made by Katinga in the night. They went to the small channels; they got one net full with the net of *taivo* and *vete* and some other fish. They came, brought them to Katinga, who baked them in the night.

They prepared their weapons. Their food cooked, they ate their food. The night was cut into two (half gone). It would soon be dawn. The group went to search for the Yato group.

The six of Yato: the preparing of their weapons was over. They went to tie the several stone representations of the gods with coconut leaves, so that their going-out would be lucky. They went to Te Mangamanga and Talitonganuku, and Tane, and Mataliki and the other gods. They also went to collect the weapons in the several weapon houses of the various lineages and the weapons in other places.

The preparation of their things over, they went to kill Tuiva first. They came along to the talo garden of Valua. They came on to the Moto-o-Kaikole. A man was sleeping there, Tuanunui was his name. They struck him dead. They came to the reserve at Matala, to Tuiva. The man they had killed came to life again, he was brought back to life by the gods. It was not right for him to die, he was a man of their side.

They came to the house of Tuiva. They broke into the house. They had finished arranging this plan in advance. When they reached the house of Tuiva, they climbed on top, speared, struck with the weapons from on top. They thought Tuiva was inside. Why, no indeed, he was gone. They looked for him. They said, "He will pay for this, without a doubt. Where has he gone? Come, let's search." They went, searched in Ngake for Kilika and his companions. They looked there, they were gone. They said, "They have gone too. Who told?"

They went to search for Tuiva and Kilika. They searched at the point of Ngake, searched on, they were missing. Then too Tuiva and Kilika were searching for them

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in Yato. They went to look at the several god houses. They went there. They finished tying up their coconut leaf. They tore down the coconut leaf of the eight. They had also not yet seen them. They encircled the bush in the search. Dawn was quickening.

Meanwhile the group of Yato had also thoroughly searched through Wale. They didn't meet the group during the night. Tuiva and Kilika reached the point in Ngake. The Yato group also arrived at Walepia. Still they hadn't been seen. Dawn was quickening. The skin of a man could be seen. They returned in their encircling search. Tuiva and Kilika returned to the shore of Paepae. The Yato group also came to the shore of Kailia. The crowd saw each other. Tuiva and Kilika saw from Paepae. They were seen by the Yato crowd from Kailia.

The crowds ran toward each other. Tuiva and Kilika ran to Wuumalolo. Tuiva stamped, both feet were firm in the ground, the coral reached to the ankles. Kilika also stamped, firm. But he didn't stand well (his feet were not planted deep in the sand). .The Yato crowd was approaching. They were aiming the spear and their *koko* (throwing weapons). Kilika said to Tuiva, "O Tuiva, my standing is not right. I shall be badly hurt. Is it bad if we two run to Te Wuusui? Besides, we are fast-footed." Tuiva felt sorry for his brother, lest he be hurt dead. The two of the pair ran along Waala. One of their weapon carriers fell down. Yakilia was his name. He was speared from on top by the six of Yato. One of their own men, Uikele, warded off the blow with his stick. This was why he was saved by Uikele: Yakilia was a *tuanga tua* of his (a person whose village membership Uikele sponsored). Tuiva and Kilika arrived at Te Wuusui. Kilika stamped, firm. Tuiva also stamped, it was not right. The talo bed was soft.

Tuiva had earlier informed Kilika that when he saw Puyaka he was not to hit him, for he was a man who understood the ancient stories and the various fishing signs, and the island genealogies and other things. That was the reason the Yato group was not finished off. This was the other: if the two of them had stayed planted in the place first stamped down by Tuiva, I guess it would have been only the wink of an eye for the (Yato) crowd to be completely finished. Because they took the fight to Wuusui, therefore others lived.

The group of Yato arrived there. They hurled at each other with weapons. Tuiva threw first at Watumoana, who was their strength; he died. Puyaka, Vakaua, Te Kele were Kilika's. Watumoana, Uikele, Vakauli were Tuiva's. They threw at each other with weapons. When Tuiva looked at the weapon of Kilika, he noticed that it was turned on its side. Tuiva said to Kilika, "Why, I guess your weapon is tilting sideways, turn it straight." The weapon of Kilika was straightened. Tuiva ran for Vakauli, he died. The dead were two in number.

Tuiva had not seen the flying-up of the spear of Uikele. He guarded himself, he was speared in the groins. He struck his club straight at the end of the spear to deflect it, but unsuccessfully. The point was broken off inside the groin of Tuiva. Tuiva was in great pain. It made him fall, he lay with his stomach on top of Vakauli, of his men who was dead. He bit on him. He only knew that he was going to die. There was Vakaua, he was standing turned toward Tuiva. He was going to hit with his club. The thing was that Tuiva was shielded by the women who crowded on top of Tuiva. Therefore the bad thrusts of Vakaua. Kilika, on the other hand, had washed his forehead, which had been injured, in the pool at Tuumalanga, bandaged it with *wolo* bark. The voice of Tuiva shouted out to Kilika, "Kilika, oh, I am indeed dying." Kilika jumped over, Vakaua was feinting over Tuiva. Kilika pierced him in the heel; he fell down on the base of his skull. Vakaua died. The dead were three in number.

Meanwhile Uikele had stayed off to the side. The other three ran up: Uikele, Te Kele, and Puyaka. They went to bury themselves alive. They buried their elders who had died first. Meanwhile Tuiva and Kilika were taken by the women and their weapon bearers to take care of their injured parts so that they would be all right. They were all right. They went to look for the group who lived. When they went there, they were already finished burying themselves.

173/539 Tuiva informed the whole island, "Listen you to me, O the island. Kilika shall
have charge of the back of the island, while I stay in the central island and the point of
the island to protect it, so that no bad ideas grow." The people were to increase; the
number of the men reached in the time of Tuiva to a thousand and one hundred. He
also made as his old men's group, men crawling with age; they were old men. Thus
it has come down to the time of light now; no other fight has arisen.

643 Obviously Tuiva was a hot-headed man, led astray by his excessive feel-
ings for his children. Where their welfare was concerned he had no mercy
173 on his brother. He was undoubtedly at fault in violating the tapu of the
593 sacred enclosure, where Takitini had taken refuge, and Watumoana was
quick to take the excuse to alarm men from Yato in an attempt to wipe out
602 Tuiva and his supporters, and incidentally to secure the women of the island
for themselves—a characteristic Pukapukan touch. However, kinship ties
579 cut across ties based on village groupings. Tuiva was informed in advance
of the plot against him and managed, with the aid of his supporters, to
defeat and kill the Yato men. Those not killed in the fight committed suicide
[762] by having their relatives bury them alive, a not infrequently mentioned
method of self-destruction.

FURTHER WHITE CONTACT

173 No further incidents are remembered of the regency of Tuiva. With
the accession of Ikilua, the main chiefly line was resumed once more, coming
484 down to the present day. Two voyages from Pukapuka to Samoa were made.
Two further visits of European ships immediately before the coming of the
177 missionaries are remembered. One was the visit of the Peruvian slave raid-
ers about 1862 or 1863. The other was the visit of a white man's ship
about 1850. It was named by the Pukapukans Te Vaka-o-lalangi.

When the ship was sighted, the canoes approached it, and after the coconut midrib
173 *yiliyili* was kept by those aboard the vessel, the people went aboard to exchange goods.
Each lineage tried to get as many European goods as possible in order to increase its
177 prestige. Among the things obtained from this boat were ropes and iron objects, clothes
(first called *kili langi* or *la lupenga*), and black tobacco leaf which they named *tutae*
[554] because it resembled the blackened oven covers removed from the native oven after the
food is cooked.

One man, Kautoki of Muliwenua, saw an animal which he thought was a large rat, but which was a dog belonging to the captain of the vessel. Profiting by a diversion of interest and finding the dog opposite a swinging scupper, Kautoki pushed it through the scupper; it fell into his canoe moored beneath. The people in the canoe hid it under some mats. Kautoki jumped into the canoe and it sheered away. The captain missed his dog and, thinking it was in one of the canoes, picked up a gun and fired at them. At this all the people tumbled into their canoes and pushed away from the boat. One man, Yalewale, was left on the boat. He jumped overboard but was hit by shot and wounded. He swam to a canoe and was hauled in. All the canoes began to paddle frantically to the reef, but still the boat's crew continued to fire on them. The canoe crews prayed to their gods to protect them, but one man, Malo by name, was killed by a shot, for he had broken a tapu and was therefore not protected by his god as were the others. The shots splaying up the water were likened by the people to shoals of

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
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[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for mythology, see pp. 8 - 9.]

000 she spoke could fly as high as the bird sitting there. She replied that he could fly higher. Then the chief took his spear and hurled it into the air. "Can Manava Nui fly as high as that?" he asked.

The other chief, who was fishing on the reef behind the islet, saw the spear in the air and ran to his home, and learned the news that the woman had brought to them. They called the woman ashore and killed her, lest she return to her people and tell them that the two chiefs were aware of their intentions.

That night they crossed with their followers to the first settlement of the Eaki. It was the custom of all the Eaki to sleep side by side, using a long log as a pillow. The two chiefs carried a second log to where the Eaki were sleeping and crushed their heads between the two logs. They went on to the other settlement of the Eaki and attempted to kill them in the same way. These people all chanted as they slept. The chiefs dropped a log on the heads of these people also, but a strong man (*toa*) hurled it off, shouting "*Tuki pou!*" (Strike the post!) The people sleeping with him leaped to their feet and ran to Pukapuka Islet along the low stretches of coral which surround the lagoon. It was a stormy night with thunder and lightning. Manava Nui was sitting in one of his stone seats, watching the sea. When he heard his people crying out and running away, he followed them, flying above the reef. The two chiefs pursued him, hurling their spears into the air to prevent his coming ashore. At the passage in the reef at Pukapuka Islet, Taupeloa and Tokaipole speared Manava Nui to death as he was flying to the reef to rest. They rushed to the village and told the Pukapuka people the murderous plan of the Eaki. The Pukapuka people turned on the Eaki and slew them all as they came along the reef from Motu Ko to Pukapuka Islet. After burying the bodies in a single pit, they went out on the reef and dragged ashore the body of Manava Nui; and when they cut him open, they discovered that he had eight hearts.

Manava Nui was buried at a point where the boundaries of the three sections of the village meet. When the two chiefs died later, Tokaipole was buried between Loto and Iaki sections and Taupeloa, between Loto and Ngaki sections. Two ancient graves on these boundaries are pointed out as the burial sites of these heroes.

Frisbie (2) translates Manava-Nui as "Stout-Hearted" or "Many Stomachs." He describes the grave of Manava Nui as 16 feet long and 5 feet wide. The headstone is chiseled to represent a bird, and four large slabs are placed on either side of it for his eight fabulous "stomachs".

773 The story of the wrestling of the gods Te Akuaku and Ngaliieieu
537 is told.

Te Akuaku was a god of Akalava [Mangaia?] who traveled to Tonga, where he found all the gods gathered for a wrestling tournament. Te Akuaku wore the rainbow as a wrestler's malo around his waist, and around his shoulders he wore the rays of the sun. When he approached and challenged the others to wrestle, all the gods stood back, frightened by the brilliance of this stranger. Finding that no one would accept his challenge, Te Akuaku left Tonga and journeyed to Samoa. As he came to shore, he looked down into the water and saw a black god living beneath a rock called Papa. This god 773 living under the water was Ngaliieieu. He rose out of the water when he saw the brilliant god above him and challenged him to wrestle. Te Akuaku 539 grasped Ngaliieieu and attempted to throw him beyond the sea so that he would be lost forever. But two birds belonging to the god of the sea flew to him and held his leg so securely to the reef that Te Akuaku could not move him any farther. At last Te Akuaku gave up and dropped his opponent into the water. Ngaliieieu immediately arose and tried to throw Te Akuaku over the ocean. A long combat followed, but Ngaliieieu could do no better with his opponent. Two worms came to the assistance of Te Akuaku and held him to the reef so that Ngaliieieu could not throw him over the sea. Ngaliieieu gave in and released his foe, and the contest became a draw. Because of the inability of either to overcome the other, the two gods became firm friends ('oa) and set out together for Pukapuka, where they settled down to live.

LAND DIVISION AND UTILIZATION

VILLAGE

The village on Pukapuka Islet is divided into four sections be- 000 longing to three groups of people.

The western or leeward section, Iato, is separated from the remainder of the village by a shallow cove. From Iato a causeway built of coral blocks leads to Loto, the central section, and a road continues eastward to Ngaki, the third, or windward, section. In 1914 a great tidal wave flooded part of the Loto section and destroyed the ancient causeway, which has since been rebuilt. The people who had lived in the flooded part rebuilt their houses at the eastern end of the village, which now constitutes a fourth section. Although the natives have boundaries marking the divisions of Loto and Ngaki, there is no interval without houses. A pathway, which in modern times has been neatly curbed with low coral slabs, runs from the landing beach on the southwestern shore of the islet and through the three sections to the southeastern shore. A branch crosses the lower extension of the taro pits and continues to the meeting house and the home of the Resident Agent. From these main pathways numerous bypaths lead through the village and into the taro patches and coconut plantations behind.

The church is situated in Loto, the center of the village (fig. 1).[1] [367] In front of the church is a large village green (marae) of Samoan type, where the people gather for festivals and exhibitions. Quadrangles edged with curbings of coral slabs, the sites of ancient maraes which were reserved for religious ceremonies, are still to be seen in

[1] [p. 12 -- Analyst]

773 Beaglehole, pp. 375-377, category 539 or 116--analyst.] and
the origin of the maternal moieties [see 1: Beaglehole and
Beaglehole, pp. 222-223, category 539 or 116--analyst.]
Geographical features of Pukapuka are explained in the origin
story. Tumulivaka made the taro beds by stamping his angry
773 feet on the ground. A variant account explains the atoll's
103 old name, Te Ulu-o-te-Watu (Head-of-the-Stone): When the
gods were building up the stone (the island), they made the
navel of the land at the place called Te Yalo in the middle of
the reserve of Uta. Its two legs are the reserves Ko and
Kotawa. As their work was interrupted by Mataliki, the gods
had no time to make the arms, eyes, or the rest of the
anatomy. Hence the name, Head-of-the-Stone, because only
the head (plus feet) of the stone body was completed.

Raising of the Sky

773 The first myth, the story of Lu and the raising of the sky, is said by some informants to tell of happenings in the land of Yamoa (Samoa) when all the inhabitants of that land were gods.

539 The sky was quite low down and stuck to the earth. The gods were groping about. They cried out for one to raise the sky so that they might be able to sit and stand upright. The god Vaelua crawled to the land of Tongaleleva, there to ask Lu, a tall god with a large body, originally from the distant land of Aolako, to come to Yamoa and raise the sky. Lu arrived with his two friends, Pingao and Yaloa. The two friends raised up one side of the sky and the three gods crawled underneath it as far as the center. They raised the sky a little, but the gods of Yamoa were dissatisfied. Lu turned on his side, raising the sky higher, but the gods were again dissatisfied. Lu turned over on his belly, rested both arms on the ground and pushed himself into a sitting position. The gods were satisfied for the moment as they walked about but they soon asked Lu to raise the sky higher. Lu knelt on his knees while Pingao and Yaloa spread out the sky evenly, tearing it apart from the earth in those places where it was stuck. The gods asked for the sky to be higher still. Lu stood up on his feet, then on tiptoe,. and finally stretched his arms above his head, pushing the sky higher until it stuck above the earth. Thus the sky was separated from the earth and the gods of Yamoa made happy.

Maui Cycle

773 Among the gods who were relieved from distress when Lu
171 raised up the sky were the three Maui brothers. The Pukapukas

773 story of how Maui Potiki went fishing with his brothers and
171 fished up the land of Tonga follows the general pattern of the widespread Polynesian narrative, in which Maui Potiki is generally held in contempt by his two elder brothers, only to succeed in the end by making the brothers look ridiculous. Nothing is known in Pukapuka of Maui's parentage. The Pukapukan narrative includes an account of the naming of certain stars, the origin of taro and pulaka, the dispersal of the gods from Tonga which resulted in the discovery of Pukapuka by Tamayei and the settlement there of many of the dispersed gods. The story was written by Talainga. For the names of the Pukapukan fishes mentioned and the fishing method used by the three brothers, see [1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 64-65. category 116---analyst.]

539 Ko te wanongo o Maui ma:

Ko Maui Mua, ma Maui Loto ma Maui Potiki. Talatala loa i a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, ka wo laua wangota. Tapena loa a laua penupenu. Kakole la i a Maui Potiki, "Ka wo la kolua wangota? Ka tatou mo ka wo?" Kakole la lua ona taina ia, "Ka yau wua koe ki te kakole, wakala ma te la? Koa koe iloa la e te yi ika? E yi oki la au kawa?" Kakole la i a Maui Potiki, "E kole la, ke wengatu wua au i muli o kolua, ke onoono wuake i a kolua yinga. Aumai la e kawa maku ke wakamatamatau ake ai au e te yi ika." Kakole i a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto. "I a ngakaumate, e wai kawa i ana! te kawa ka wakalavea. Ke lavea io mo makai loa koe i te moana." Totoko loa i a Maui Potiki, "E kole lava, ko tatou lava ka wo. Tapena kolua e

The story of Maui and the others:

There were Maui Mua (the first), Maui Loto (the middle), and Maui Potiki (the baby). Maui Mua and Maui Loto talked, they were going fishing. They prepared their gear. Maui Potiki protested, "Are you two going fishing? We are all going, aren't we?" His two brothers objected, "Are you going to come just for nothing, merely to expose yourself to the sun? Do you know how to fish? Besides, have you any line?" Maui Potiki insisted, "No, just let me go (along) behind you two that I may watch your fishing. Bring a line for me that I may practice at fishing." Maui Mua and Maui Loto were scornful, "The cheeky fellow, he take a line! The line will get caught on a rock. If it caught on a rock, you'd throw it into the sea, wouldn't you?" Maui Potiki was stubborn, "No indeed, the three of us shall go. You two prepare a line for me, and a hook." His two brothers

539 kawa maku ma e kau." Meake lua ona taina ia, "E totoko," wakaloaloa, mea loa, "Ka wo tatou." Veveia loa i a Maui. Ko Maui Potiki, e tama wai manamanana. Tapena loa latou i a latou kawa ma latou kau, ma te kawapoto, ma te kau wakalialia. Ko te kawa ia a Maui na yuai ai e lua tokalua ia e kawa papala.

Oti ake, wo loa latou. Eia te wangota ka wo ai latou, e tukumoana. Alo loa to latou vaka wakaui ake, to ki tua, makake to latou tau. Kamata loa latou i te yi. Tuku loa i a Maui Mua i tana kawa ki lalo, wakayeke loa, tu ki lalo. Kai loa tana palu, e palu ave. Tuku oki i a Maui Loto i tana kawa, wakatu ake, tu ki lalo. Kai loa tana palu mumu. Wuwuti loa a laua palu ia, ako ki lunga.

Yiliyili loa i a Maui Potiki, "E wea te wowonu o te konga nei?" Kakole i a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "E lau ma witunga kumi." "Ti e kole pe e lualau e tu ai ki lalo." Teia te mea ya peiai laua, kae lavea tana kawa; eia te tae ya peiai lua, kae puke ai palu, wolea laua, wakatangilia laua e Maui Potiki. Ko te mea ia ya makeke ai laua. Ya to tamaiti oki i a Maui Potiki, e kiai na matau e te tuku palu, e laua ya mou wo tuku palu.

said, "He's obstinate." (In the end) they felt sorry for him and said, "We shall all go." Maui was happy. Maui Potiki was a fellow who could perform magic They got ready their lines and their hooks and a short line and a wretched hook. Maui's line provided by the two (brothers) was a rotten line.

(That) finished, they went. This is the type of fishing they were going to (do), tukumoana. They paddled their canoe, rushed it over the reef, went to the back, dropped their anchor. They started the fishing Maui Mua put his line down, let it out, (until) it was down (deep). His palu bit, a palu ave. Maui Loto also dropped his line, let it out, (until) it was way down. His palu mumu bit. They pulled in their fish, got them up.

Maui Potiki asked, "How deep is the place here?" Falsely Maui Mua and Maui Loto replied, "It's 170 fathoms." "What? Oh no, it is certainly two hundred to get all the way down." This is the reason they (the two older brothers) spoke thus, so that his line would not get caught (on a rock); this is another (reason) they acted thus, lest he might catch some palu, beat them, and they be made to cry by Maui Potiki. For that reason they were hard. Besides Maui Potiki was younger, not yet used to fishing palu, (while) they had often fished palu.

539 Oti ake tuku loa i a Maui Potiki i tana kawa, wakayeke ake. tu ki te lau ma witunga kumi, ya tala e lua ona taina. Wakamatala loa tana watu; kai loa tana palu yayaulua. Kiki loa i a Maui Potiki, tupe loa i tana ika ia, tupe loa e, pau te kawa lunga; tupe oki e, tu lototonu te kawa loto; tupe oki e, pau te kawa loto. Iliili loa i a Maui Potiki ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto: "Maui Mua ma Maui Loto e, ewea taku ika nei?" Kakole lua tokalua ia, "E yengayenga, e palu mumu." Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "Kakole, koiai?" Tupe oki i a Maui Potiki, koa tali pau tana kawa. Onoono atu la latou ki lalo, e palu yayaulua pe. Kakoli i a Maui Potiki, "Koi a kolua la, e yengayenga, e palu yayaulua koia." Kamuloa lua ona taina ia makekea. Ya wakayi wua laua. Tapi koia e motu e kawa papala nayuai ai e laua. Kakole pe, ya wakamakekeina e na mana o Maui Potiki. E tama wai manamana.

That finished, Maui Potiki dropped his line, let it out (till) it reached to the 170 fathoms (depth) mentioned by his brothers. He loosened his stone; his palu yayaulua bit. Maui Potiki pulled hard, pulled in, pulled in e-e-e, (got) all his top line in; he kept pulling, e-e-e, reached the middle of his line; kept on pulling, e-e-e, got all the middle line in. Maui Potiki asked Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "Oh Maui Mua and Maui Loto, what is my fish here?" These two answered indifferently, "It's yengayenga, a palu mumu." Maui denied this, "No, you think so?" Maui Potiki kept on pulling, his line was nearly all up. They looked below, it was indeed a palu yayaulua. Maui Potiki taunted (his brothers), "According to you two there, it's a yengayenga (but) it's a palu yayaulua all the same." His two brothers were very jealous. They had just let him fish (for fun). If only (his line) had broken (it was) a rotten line they had given him, but no, the mana of Maui Potiki had made it strong. He was a fellow who could make magic.

Maunu oki i a Maui Potiki i tana kauyele ki te watu, tuku ake ki lalo, wakayeke ake, tu ki te konga na wakangatai i ana. Wakamatala loa tana watu. Kai loa tana kau a pulaka. Tupe oki i a Maui Potiki, pau te kawa lunga; tupe oki e, pau te kawa loto. Iliili oki i a Maui Potiki. "Ewea oki taku

Maui Potiki fastened his fishing noose with a stone, put it down, let it out, got it down to the place he had left off. He loosened his stone. His pulaka stalk bit. Maui Potiki pulled up, finished the top line. Maui Potiki asked again, "What is my thing here?" Indifferently his two brothers said, "Probably a palu ave or a palu wutu."

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mea nei?" Kakole lua ona taina ia, "Awa e palu ave pe palu wutu." Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "Kakole, koiai? Ewea taku mea nei?" Tupe oki i a Maui Potiki, pau te kawa lalo. Onoono atu latou ki lalo, e kau a pulaka. Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "Koia kolua e palu ave; e pulaka koia. E nei e iai te kaua pulaka nei." E mea yia a Maui Potiki. Ko Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, ko yi wua lua i te lolau palu tukumoana. Eia no ingoa, e yengayenga, palu mumu, palu ave, palu wutu, palu yiloa, palu malau, palu paniwi, palu matapula, palu kalou, palu mango, kaupatuwao, katakata. Koi ai na toe palu, ma na toe ika o te wangota tukumoana ia.

Maui Potiki disagreed, "No, you think so? What is my thing here?" Maui Potiki kept on pulling, finished the lower line. They looked below, it was a pulaka stalk. Maui taunted, "According to you two it is a palu ava; it is pulaka all the same. Here is the pulaka here. It was something fished up by Maui Potiki. Maui Mua and Maui Loto fished only the lolau palu fished by the tukumoana method. These are their names: [The text here mentions the names of 16 deep sea fish.] There are other palu still and other fish caught by th tukumoana method.

Tuku oki i a Maui Potiki i tana kawa. Yi oki i te wawa. Mea oki pe ana meanga i ana meanga mua. Tuku oki i a Maui Potiki. E iai te wawa ma te wuti nei e mea yia e Maui Potiki.

Maui Potiki cast his line again he fished up taro too. He did as he had done before. Maui Potiki fished, hooked a banana. Maui Potiki pulled it up too. Thus the taro and the banana here are things fished by Maui Potiki.

Tukutuku oki a Maui Potiki, wakayeke ake i tana kawa lalo pau, wakayeke oki i tana kawa loto pau, wakayeke oki i tana kawa lunga tu ki te konga e wakangatai. Tamata loa i ana e te wakayeke. Yeke atu tana kawa ia ki lalo, tu loa ki te konga ya wakatu ai lua ona taina.

Maui cast again, let all his lower line all out, his middle line all out, and his top line to the depth of the place he had left off. Then he started to let it down. His line went below, reached the place his two brothers had fished at. Maui let still more out, he didn't stop, the line simply kept goin down. Maui Potiki said to his

539 Wakayeke atu oki, koa ye tu, koa yeke wua te kawa. Mea loa i a Maui Potiki ki lua ona taina, "Ewea taku mea nei? Koa ye tu ai. Tiai ka wowonu ai? Ti!" Kakole pe, ko iko tana kawa i a te ulu o te wenua i lalo o te moana. Tamatatu la i ana e te tupe. Langa mai la i ana, koa ye malanga. Onoono mai la lua ona taina mua, koa makeke te kawa a Maui Potiki. Kakole lua tokalua ia, "Teia la, lavea tana mea ya tukutuku ai ki lalo. Koa ye tu oki Lukuna." Meake i a Maui Potiki, "E makeke." Tamata loa i ana e te kiki. Wakalonga atu la i ana ki te kawa, koa malu mai. Kiki loa i ana ma te wakalongo i tana kawa. Tawi ai ana peia. Wakalongo atu la i a Maui Potiki, koa motu mai te punga o te wenua. Wakalongo atu oki i ana, ko tipi te wenua i lalo o te moana. Kakole la i a Maui Potiki ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "Koia kolua la, na lavea angaoti. Onoono mai la kolua, kowea, taku ika e lele nei. Ewea taku mea nei?" Koa ye vava lua ona taina ia. Koa waingata a laua ngangananga. Koa mea peia, "Kei! Ewea la? Awa e mea." Koa ye tapa tonu i na ingoa o na ika. Koa lai te mea waike a Maui Potiki koa yi.

Tupe loa i a Maui Potiki i tana mea ia, pau te kawa

two brothers, "What is my thing here? It doesn't stop. Why is it so deep? Whew!" but no, his line was twisted round the top of the island below the sea. He started the pulling up. He pulled, but couldn't budge it. His two older brothers looked, the line of Maui Potiki was caught tight. The two of them sneered, "There now, it's caught, his thing (line) that he put so far down. It doesn't stop either. Dive down for it." Maui Potiki said, "It's tight." He started to pull in. He listened to (felt) his line, it was getting weaker. He pulled on it, feeling the line. He held it so. Maui Potiki listened, the rock of the island was breaking. He listened again, the island below the sea was moving. Maui Potiki taunted Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "According to you two there, it's gotten caught and that's all there is to it. You two look here, why, my fish is swimming here. What have I here." His two brothers made no answer. Their reply took a long time to come. They said, "I don't know, what is it? I suppose it's something." They did not correctly name the fish. The strange things fished by Maui Potiki were many.

Maui pulled in on his thing, finished the top line. He pulled

539 lunga. Tupe oki pau te kawa loto. Tupe oki tali pau te kawa lalo. Ko na tipitipinga la o te wenua, kamuloa i a Maui Potiki kikokikoia. Mea oki i a Maui Potiki, "Ewea taku mea nei?" Kakole i a lua ona taina ia, "Awa e watu tongi, e la ya makeke ai kowea mua; koa taenawa na." Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "Kakole, koiai? Ewea taku mea nei?" Mea loa i a Maui Potiki ki lua ona taina ia, "Onoonoliake." Ke onoono atu la latou ki lalo, onoono atu oki ki na kaokao o to latou vaka, ma na konga mamao koa kakao te wui ulu lakau, koa taumangamanga. Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "Koia kolua, e watu; e wenua koia."

Wuwuti loa i a Maui Potiki, tango loa i te matai. Puta loa te ulu o te wenua, kitea ma te kelekele. Tapa loa ma te ingoa, ko Tonga. Onoono atu te wui atua, ya lulu i te wenua na yia e Maui Potiki. Kakalo atu latou, e ao ke. Mimia loa te wui atua.

Maunu oki i a Maui Potiki i tana kau, tuku oki ki lalo, wakayeke ake, tu ki lalo, yi oki ana wenua. E lai tana wenua na yi: ko te atu wenua, ko te atu Yiva, ma te atu Yayake, ma te atu Manuyiki, ma te atu Lakawanga, ma te atu Yamoa, ma te atu Tokelau,

in also all the middle line. Then he pulled nearly all the lower line. (Against) the tiltings of the island, Maui pulled with all his strength. Maui Potiki asked, "What is this?" His two brothers were indifferent. " I guess it's a large rock, that is what made it tight at first; it's heavy there." Maui Potiki persisted, "No, you don't say? What is my thing?" Maui Potiki said to his brothers, "Look here." When they looked down, looked also at the sides of their canoe and to far off places, there appeared in sight the various treetops which were branching out. Maui Potiki objected, "According to you two, it is a stone; it's an island all the same."

Maui Potiki pulled in his line, grasped the snood. The top of the island floated up and the coral was also seen. It was given the name Tonga. The many gods who had been gathered on the land fished up by Maui Potiki looked around. They looked, it was a strange world. The gods hastened away.

Maui Potiki baited his hook again, let it down, let out the line (till) it was deep, fished up more of his islands. Many are his islands he fished up: the distant islands, the Yiva group, the Yayake group, and the Manihiki group, and the Rakahanga group, and the Samoan group, and the Tokelau

539 ma te atu Laulau, ma te atu Vayitupu, ma te atu Lalo. Oti ake te yi ana wenua ia, maunu ake i tana kau, tuku ake ki lalo, tukutuku ake i tana kawa, tu ki lalo, Wakamatala loa tana watu, matala. Kai loa tana mango tongi. Wuwuti loa i a Maui Potiki, tupe loa i tana mango ia. Kakole i ana ki lua ona taina, "Ewea oki taku mea nei?" Kakole lua ona taina ia, "E wenua." Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "E kole, koi ai. Ewea taku mea nei?" Tupe loa i a Maui Potiki, pau te kawa lunga, pau ma te kawa loti, tali pau ma te kawa lalo. Mea loa i a Maui Potiki, "Onoonowiake. "Kakalo atu la latou, koa wakalava te tawi tonga mango i te katea o te vaka. Mea oki i a Maui Potiki, "Tangowia mai te tao. Onoono kolua wakalelei. Tenei au ka wakatu i te ulu ki lunga nei. Yoka loa koe, e Maui Mua, i te kapakapa. Tango koe e Maui Loto i te tala." Wakatu mai loa i a Maui Potiki i te ulu o te mango ki lunga. Kakalo loa i a Maui Mua ko te kapakapa, yoka loa makeke. Tango loa i a Maui Loto i te tala o te mango, makeke. Liko loa i a Maui Potiki i te yiku o te mango, tili loa ki te langi nei. Yemu ake i tana matai, maka loa ki lunga o te langi. E nei, e iai te mango a wakalava i te langi nei, ma te kau na yiai, ma te tao na yokai. Pau ai loa te tala ia.

group, and the Laulau group, and the Vaitupu group, and the Western group. Finished with the fishing of his islands, he baited his fishhook, let it down, let out more and more (till) it was way down. He loosened his sinker stone (till) loose. His huge shark bit. Maui Potiki pulled in, drew in his shark. He asked his two brothers, "What have I here?" They answered, "An island." Maui Potiki said, "No, you don't say! What have I here?" Maui Potiki pulled in, finished the top line, finished also the middle section of the line, nearly all of the lower line. Maui Potiki said, "Look here." They looked there, there was at the side an enormous shark (*tawi tonga mango*) on the starboard side of the canoe. Maui Potiki said also, "Take hold of the spear for me. Be careful. I am going to get the head up above here. You, oh Maui Mua, you spear it in its fins. You Maui Loto, seize its flukes." Maui Potiki got the head of the shark to stand upright. Maui Mua looked at the fins, speared it, tightly. Maui Loto grasped the flukes of the shark (it was) tight. Maui Potiki took hold of the tail of the shark, threw it up to the sky here. He cut off the singer line, threw it on to the sky. Thus at the present time there are the shark lying on the side of the sky here, the fishhook with which it was fished, and the spear with which it was speared. The story is finished.

539 773 The Pukapukan story of the testing of Maui Potiki by the gods is a fragment apparently not well known elsewhere.

The gods became tired of Maui's perpetual boasting after he had fished up Tonga and decided to show him that he was not so smart as he thought himself. The gods tested Maui first with string figures, making in turn a series of string figures which Maui was asked to name. Maui was successful in naming all the figures that the gods could make. Then a god held up two pieces of inter-connected coconut leaflet and asked Maui to disconnect the pieces without tearing. (1) Maui searched his brain for the answer to the puzzle. He could not solve it. He drew the attention of the god to a bird flying high in the sky and as the god looked Maui quickly tore the puzzle apart and then, hiding the torn ends in his hand, held up the two pieces of leaflet as if he had won the test. But the god was not deceived. When he insisted that Maui open wide his hands it was evident that the puzzle was indeed torn apart, not solved, by Maui.

Then in turn, Maui counted all the coral stones, all the stars in the sky, all the strands of hair on the heads of the gods, all the trees in the land, all the fish in the sea and many other things. Finally the gods asked Maui to count all the waves in the sea. Maui counted and counted, but the waves never ceased rolling towards him. Maui was nonplussed. The waves simply kept on increasing. Maui was made dizzy by his efforts at counting and in the end had to admit that this was the thing he was quite unable to do.

Naming of the Stars and Fishes

Maui was the one who first named all the fishes as the gods sent them one by one up to the reef where Maui stood. After Maui's time some of his fish names were forgotten, some were misused, and certain gods took the liberty of renaming others with their own names. There was much confusion in Pukapuka, the more so because Maui's names were taken from the language of the gods and were thus not easily remembered by the people. A man by the name of Walemate decided to name the fish and those stars intimately connected with the habits of fish.

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1. This coconut leaflet puzzle that Maui could not solve is described in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole pp. 212-213, category 116--analyst].

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173 Walemate was a wise man with learning like that of Maui. He named all the fish, one by one, the fish of the sea, the fish of the lagoon. When he had used up all his names, one fish remained over. The gods asked its name, and Walemate named it "The fish of Walemate", thus establishing his fame for all times. His fish names have been known to the many generations of Pukapukans from the early times reaching down to the present day. Walemate also pointed out the many constellations of the sky, Mataliki and Tolu, Te Toloa and Te Manu, Melemele and Tokiva, and the many other stars that are watched now to determine when the fish are with roe. (2) Walemate also distinguished the hard-blowing winds, the easterly winds, the changing winds that bring the flying fish to the reef after the morning rising of the Pleiades.

The Yina Cycle

Three stories are known of the woman or goddess Yina. One tells the way in which the fish received their distinctive colorations and markings. The other two stories are fragments of a bigger cycle and bear out the contention of informants' that many stories about Yina have been forgotten today.

Yina was a woman of Pukapuka. In her time all the fish were pure white, there were none black, blue, red or multi-colored. One day when she was menstruating, Yina stood on the seaward side of the reef. She called the fish to her by rubbing together the backs of two Tridacna shells to make a grating noise and then throwing the two shells to the sea bottom. The fish answered the call thinking Yina had food for them. The *lengi* fish came first. Yina grasped it with her hands. The fish squirmed and wriggled to escape, but before it got away from her hands it had received two longitudinal scratches from her finger nails, a red mark on one side of its body, a green mark on the other. The bonito was similarly scratched with a dark stripe. The *malau* and the *lali* fish were both stained red with the blood that came from their anal openings after Yina had inserted into and withdrawn her hand from this opening. The *wangamoana* fish was stained bright red from swimming through the waters onto which Yina's menstrual blood dripped. One hungry fish, the *taotaoama*, tried to

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2. Identification of these star names is given in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 349-351, category 116--analyst].

539 swallow Yina's coconut husk menstrual pad which had fallen
773 into the water, but the pad lodged in the throat and gills of this fish and has stayed there to this day. Thus when a *taotaoama* fish is caught one finds in its throat a sort of fungoid growth called *te pulu o Yina* (husk fibers of Yina), a remembrance of the hunger of the ancestor of the *taotaoma* fish. All the other fish of the sea, the *manini*, the *tawa*, the *ngatau*, the *tiwitiwi* and many others were striped in different ways by the scratching fingers of Yina. Yina tore in two the tail of the whale and this has remained splayed to this day.

At this time also all fish had small stones in their heads instead of brains. From each fish Yina removed the stone and inserted in its place some grey clam flesh. This gave the fish more understanding, making it easier for them to understand Pukapukan fishing calls and thus more ready to come to the fisherman when he needed them for food.

The second story of the goddess simply states that she made a visit to the moon though how she got there or what the pur-
[821] pose of her visit, no one knows. But today if one looks at the moon, one may see in it a picture of Yina. She is kneeling before a hearth stone on which she holds a Pandanus fruit key. In her uplifted hand she holds a striking stone with which she is about to crush the key and extract therefrom its kernel. Now when adults and children crack open a Pandanus key they think of Yina mirrored in the moon showing them how to do it.

The third story tells how Yina went for a ride on the back of a turtle. She took for her lunch some coconuts. The turtle took her to visit many lands. Yina became hungry and cast about for a way to open a nut. She decided to hammer it open on the head of the turtle, though the turtle had previously warned her against this. When the nut was hammered on its head, the turtle became angry. It sounded and said that in the future, whenever it saw human beings, it would always sound and in this way avoid them. Yina jumped off its back and swam back to Pukapuka. The turtle before this had always been a surface living animal, but for the cruelty of Yina it would remain so today. Now that the turtle has learned to sound it is much more difficult to catch and dangerous also, because it may drag down and drown a man whom it has caught with its flippers before sounding.

Lingutaimoa and her pet fish

The story of Lingutaimoa tells indirectly how eclipses of the sun and moon occur.

Lingutaimoa was a woman of Loto. When the *manini tauila* (seasonal *manini* fish) came to Pukapuka, she happened to catch

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773 one alive and she decided to keep it as a pet. She put the manini in a coconut shell, filled the shell with fresh salt water every day, and fed the fish. She taught the manini to answer to a chanted call whenever she had food for it. Soon the manini grew too big for the shell, so she transferred it to a bowl. The manini grew still bigger, so she transferred it to a big hole that she dug near the beach. The manini grew bigger, and the hole became too small. Thereupon she carried the fish to a pool in the coral of the reef. The manini grew more, so she carried it to the lagoon itself, and when the fish grew too big for the lagoon, she finally took it to the ocean. Every day she went to feed the fish, and she called it with the following incantation:

Manini, manini, tipatipa mai tai. (3)	Manini, manini, turn on your side from the sea.
Tai yau tu, yau ta, wakayongi tai kia manini.	Come in, go back (she) smells (greets) the manini.
Taketakea kia manini.	(She) pats the manini.

Lingutaimoa fed the manini for many months. One day, however, the people of the heaven called Te tea-no-te-langi (Fair-people-of-the-sky), looked down to earth and saw this manini. They thought it was fat and eatable. So, while the woman was out getting food, they baited a hook and dropped it down from the sky and hauled up the fish.

The old lady came along the reef chanting her call, to feed her fish at the usual hour. The fish did not appear. She called a second time, but no fish appeared. She chanted a third time, but still no fish. She walked up and down the reef chanting and searching, but there was no sign of the fish. Then she made a vow that she would never cease her efforts until she revenged the death of her pet fish. Next morning she went to the reef and called up a wave to come to her. This was her call:

Te ngalu tua, te ngalu alo	The ocean wave, the lagoon wave
E ngalu tu ai te nuanua, e ngalu taia a Maui.	A wave standing to the rainbow, a wave sent by Maui.

The first wave that came to her was not good enough. The second was bad also, but the third wave was a good one, so

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3. The manini is a big fish and hence must turn on its side if it is to swim inshore and be fed in shallow water.

539 773 [821] she embarked on it and was quickly taken to the horizon. When she got there, she clung to the horizon as the wave went past, and easily clambered up to the sky. In the sky she went round inquiring as to her manini. People said the Fair-people must have killed it. Coming to their land in the sky she found traces of blood which she knew to be manini blood. It was this blood that got smeared over the sun and the moon when the manini was killed, and which causes to this day eclipses of the sun and of the moon. Then she came to the Fair-people and found bones of her manini. She met the chief's assistant of the Fair-people, and he admitted that he had received the cheek bone of the manini. So she killed him. Then she went on and found the chief of the Fair-people. He said he had been given the gills and stomach of the fish as was his chiefly share. So she killed him too. And she killed all the people who had eaten of her fish. This finished, her revenge was complete. She went to the horizon and called up another wave to take her back to Pukapuka.

The following chant refers to this story of Lingutaimoa:

Na ai te pu e tangi nei? (4) na te tukipo, te tuki yami,	Whose the trumpet sounding? Of the warning cry, the cry for coconut food,
Yuyu mata tiloia e Lingutaimoa, koa lili vaka, koa ita vaka i tana manini	Wet eye straight gazing of Lingutaimoa, full of anger(she), anger for her manini
Koia yele to kei te tai, to kele, kele, kele,	Noosed, dropped to the sea, dropped struggling
Tiale ti, tiale ta, tiale kaina e te Tea	Flower picked, flower killed, flower eaten by the Tea people.

[173] The reference to the Fair-people-of-the-sky is the only one in Pukapukan traditions or stories to such people. Informants could give no details about them other than what is known from this story. It is likely, however, that the reference represents a memory in tradition of the fair skinned, chestnut-haired people one of the racial strains that is reported in the population of other islands of Polynesia.

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4. The reference is to the Yayake warning cry in the traditional account of the killing of the Yayake people on Motu Ko. [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 380, category 116--analyst].

Voyage of Lata

538 The story of Lingutaimoa completes the Pukapukan myths that account for natural phenomena. The next story is the Pukapukan version of the tale of Lata. The action of the story takes place in Samoa, on the high seas, and in Witi (Fiji), but it is none the less an authentic Pukapukan tale,very popular story, both narrator and auditors became convulsed with laughter as the narrative proceeded.

539 Lata was a man of Yamoa (Samoa) who went to the forest one day hunting for a big log suitable for a canoe. He took his adz with him and went from one tree to the next, At last he came to a certain tree, straight and clean, with few small branches, just the right tree for a canoe. But the whole forest was the property of a man named Yinata and unbeknown to Lata this tree was the favorite shading place of Yinata. Here he was wont to repair in the heat of the day to cool himself under its shady branches, and here he went too, when he wished for a special protection from the heavy rains.

Lata chopped down the tree and it fell with a mighty crash. He cut off the crown of the tree, skinned off the bark and began the task of hollowing out the tree for his canoe. Lata and Yinata were both men of magic powers (tangata manamana), hence the speed at which Lata could work.

While the work was in progress, along came Yinata thinking to sleep a while in the shade. He saw what Lata had done to his special tree and he was angry. The two men argued, Lata saying he had chopped down the tree in ignorance, Yinata charging him with willful theft, At last the two fell to violence and began to wrestle. The first time Lata pushed Yinata down. Again they wrestled, and this time Yinata threw Lata. They went on wrestling with equal fortune, until both were exhausted, when they desisted. Yinata then summoned up his strength and began to chant an incantation (talotalo), which immediately brought together all the leaves, chips, bark, branches, made them stick together and lo, the tree was a growing thing again. This is the incantation:

Mei a pikitau welele ona malamala!	Come a perfect join, run together the woodchips!
Mei a pikitau welele ona kili!	Come a perfect join, run together the bark!
Mei a pikitau welele ona la!	Come a perfect join, run together the branches!
Mei a pikitau welele ona lau!	Come a perfect join, run together the leaves.

539 As the tree grew up as before Yinata's heart was glad, because he now had his favorite shelter again. Lata was glad too, because through his power he had put another trunk inside the bark as the tree grew together, and so he now had his canoe log also. So Lata worked and worked away at his canoe, hollowing out the underbody, fitting it with stern and bow covers and washstrakes. He cut his outrigger, lashed it on the crossbooms. The front wave guard on his bow cover was so high and flat it was like the platform in a storehouse. He made sail and sheets and fitted another tree trunk for a mast. When everything was complete and the canoe well and truly made, Lata went round the islands of Yamoa looking for the best men for his crew.

He chose the men who had power to withstand the strength of his hand. As each likely man came to him, Lata grasped him by the neck with his hands and attempted to bend his head forward. If the man could stand the pull and his neck remained stiff and upright, then Lata was satisfied. If his head bent forward, then this showed he was a weakling and Lata discarded him. After a time, this selection was completed. The crew carried the canoe to the water and launched it. They took their places in the canoe and these are the names of the canoe members:

Lata, captain and owner
Tupua-ulu-watu (Head-of-stone)
Tupua-lulu-lapa (Flat-head), (Broad-head)
Tupua-kaia (Thief)
Tupua-keli-ana (Hole-digger)
Tupua-manatu (Thinker)
Matai-monomono (Caulking-wedge)
Mata-pili-kawa (Expert-sennit-maker)
Wakapeyi (Defecator)
Wakapalalu (Defecator)
Pate-momono (Caulk remover)
Matai-waowao (Jumper)

Before the canoe set sail, Lata talked to his crew and told them that he expected them to help him and themselves should the canoe get into any dangerous situations. All the men agreed to do their best, so with high hopes the canoe set off to voyage abroad, Lata saying he wanted to see the world and all the crew expressing pleasure at the idea. The canoe soon left Samoa behind and held a course for Witi. It was not long, however, before they met with heavy squalls, high seas, wind and rain, the sky so black and cloudy that they could see no sign of abatement and the outlook was dangerous. Lata turned to his crew and said, "Whose turn is it to help us by keeping away the wind and rain?" Tupua-ulu-lapa volunteered to try. So he made his flat head grow bigger and bigger until it grew

539 to be a coconut-leaf mat big enough to cover the whole canoe and shelter the canoe and water round it from the wind. The seas grew calm and the canoe sailed on safely, even though the seas of Witi are dangerous, the rains pour down in huge drops and the winds blow like hurricanes.

On and on the canoe sailed, but before reaching Witi, Lata saw two huge man-eating fish called palao. The crew were all afraid of these fish thinking they would surely be eaten up. But Lata called out, "Who will deal with these fish?" Wakapeyi and Wakapalalu volunteered, and Lata told them to go to work. Both these men balanced on the gunwales of the canoe with their fundaments under the sea and began to discharge feces. They continued to do this until the ocean was full of feces. The two fish swallowed and swallowed up the feces and in the end were so stuffed that they could not move, but floated away on the current with distended bellies.

The canoe sailed on and on until at last it came to the channel of Witi. There was a gigantic rock blocking up the entrance to the channel and no room was left for the canoe to enter. So Lata called to his crew, "Who will rid us of this rock?" Then Tupua-ulu-watu said, "It is my turn, I will do this task." He dived into the sea and swam under water to the rock which he began to hit with his head. He went on doing this until at last the rock shivered to pieces under the continued battering, and the canoe was able to sail into the channel.

The channel was a big one and as the canoes sailed up to the beach, Lata described a gigantic Tridacna shell fish rising up from the sea bottom. Its shells were wide open, and it was very likely to swallow up and destroy the canoe. The crew called out to Lata in alarm, saying that now surely their last hour was come. But Lata replied, "No, this is my turn, I will deal with this clam." He grasped his cutting stick firmly in one hand, and dived into the water. He entered the clam shell which closed about him. The crew saw this and cried out that Lata had surely perished and they too would soon suffer a like fate. All the time however, Lata was busy cutting away the roots of the clam flesh with his wooden knife. Soon the crew saw a cloud of inky black stuff coming out from the closed shell, and they plucked up hope again, saying Lata is safe after all. A moment later the shell opened out and Lata emerged, swimming to the surface with the flesh in his hands.
[522] There was a great amount of flesh, so Lata thought to divide it up among all the islands of the Pacific, that the people of these islands might share in the feast. He cut the flesh into pieces and gave one piece to each island group in the Pacific,

539 one to Niue, one to Manihiki, to the Tokelaus, to Samoa, to
522 Ellice, to Gilberts, to Hawaii, to New Zealand, and so forth. In the end he thought that every island had been given a share as the flesh was finished. His crew suddenly cried out, "Oh Lata, you have forgotten one island." Lata replied by asking the forgotten name. The crew told him, "The island of Pukapuka." "Well," replied Lata,"all the shares have been given out, and there is none left for Pukapuka." But he bethought himself and dived into the sea again, cut out the root of the clam and coming to the surface called out, "Here is the share of Pukapuka." [Note the great joke involved. The root of the clam is inedible and useless for any purpose, hence Pukapuka received useless matter while the other islands shared in the juicy flesh.]

539 This task accomplished, the canoe was beached and the crew landed on the shore of Witi. The people of Witi had seen the canoe from afar however, and suspected they might be strangers up to mischief so they had built a strong stockade (pa) to house them when they landed. Hence Lata's crew were immediately marched to their stockade and safely secured as prisoners inside it. The plan of the people of Witi was to give the crew plenty of food and fatten them up so that they would be good eating when the time came to kill them. It was necessary, however, for the people of Witi to have some excuse for killing the group of innocent strangers who had committed no fault so far. It was decided to have a contest at getting crabs, one contestant from Lata's crew, and one contestant from Witi. The Witi people thought that their champion would easily win and this would allow them to put to death the defeated side.

The Witi champion (toa) was very skilled at digging up crabs. His name was Tupua-keli-tupa (Tupa-crab-digger). When the name of the champion was announced to Lata he turned to his crew and said, "Whose turn is it to save us now?" Tupua-kaia volunteered to do his best, so he was presented as the champion of Lata. The two champions went off to the bush to dig up crabs. The Witi expert set to work and quickly filled three baskets while Tupua-kaia had hardly time to fill one. The time passed quickly, the afternoon sun turned to disappear below the ocean, and as the men were in a far off place, Tupua-kaia proposed that the two should sleep in the bush for the night, returning to the settlement on the morrow. The Witi champion agreed to this since he was tired from much digging and needed a rest badly. The Witi champion had three baskets filled with crabs. Tupua-kaia had only one basket

539 filled with crabs, but he filled his remaining two with stones, coconut husks, and leaves, and covered the tops with crabs so that it appeared as if he too had three full baskets. Both men hung up their baskets from a branch of a tree, side by side. Then as it was late and dark in the bush they lay down to sleep, about 30 feet apart. Tupua-kaia began to tell stories about his wanderings and adventures as a member of Lata's crew, and as the Witi champion listened he became drowsy and sleepy. Every little while Tupua-kaia would stop in his story and call out, "Are you asleep?" The other would answer, "No, why do you ask?" And Tupua-kaia would reply, "I ask just to see whether I should continue telling my story to you." After a time the answers of the Witi man became more and more incoherent and his voice was full of sleep. At last there was no answer when Tupua-kaia asked his question. Tupua-kaia called softly many times, but still there was no reply He got up, opened the plaiting at the bottom of the Witi man's basket and let all the crabs fall out into his own basket which he held underneath. He did the same for the next basket, making however a different sort of hole, so that it would appear in the morning as if the crabs had eaten their way through the plaiting and had escaped of their own accord. This finished, with Tupua-kaia's baskets full of crabs, he went and lay down again, pretending to fall into a deep sleep. The Witi man awoke first, Tupua-kaia still simulating deep sleep. The Witi man called out, "The sun rises, it is time for us to be up and going." Tupua-kaia did not stir. Again the Witi man called out, but Tupua-kaia did not stir. A third time the Witi man called and Tupua-kaia pretended to wake with a great start, asking what was the cause of the great noise. The reason was explained to him. He got up quickly, went off to get his carrying pole, loaded his baskets on the pole and called to the Witi man that he was ready to start back to the beach. But when the Witi man went to his baskets he found two of them very light in weight. Thinking something was wrong he opened the top and found that they were empty, the bottoms of the baskets being torn as if by the claws of the crabs. He called out in alarm, "My crabs have all escaped. Wait for me while I go and dig some more." But Tupua-kaia replied, "No, we cannot wait, all the people of Witi are waiting on the beach for us that they may count our crabs. We cannot be late." "But," called the Witi man, "if we go back now, I will be beaten on the count, and I will surely be eaten for being the loser in this contest." Tupua-kaia remained adamant however that both must return at once, so they set off, the

539 Witi man imploring all the time that Tupua-Kaia should wait for a time, but Tupua-kaia remained inflexible. At last they came to the place where the Witi people were gathered. Then the official counters came forward, took the baskets and counted the crabs they contained. The count showed that Tupua-kaia had collected 100 more crabs than the Witi man, so he was declared the winner of the contest, and the Witi chief ordered his champion to be killed and eaten. Nevertheless, all of Lata's men were put back inside the stockade and the Witi men went off to gather firewood and oven stones to cook the Witi man. This was done and Lata saw him killed, cooked and eaten by the Witi gathering. Thus Lata and his crew were saved once more by the cunning of his well chosen crew.

Again, however, the Witi men decided to arrange another contest, hoping to beat the crew of Lata. This time the contest was braiding sennit (kawa). The name of the Witi expert was Lua-kawa. The chosen member of Lata's crew was Mata-pili-kawa. The two champions went to the meeting place, all the materials were brought to them, and the two began to roll and braid. While the Witi man was making up strands and rolling them into lengths, Mata-pili-kawa was in no hurry but worked along steadily. Then Lua-kawa went off to find some more materials, but Mata-pili-kawa continued to work steadily as before, and in the end won the contest, not by trickery, but by great skill.

The Witi men now found that the crew of Lata were too smart to be killed through the medium of a contest, so they decided to kill and eat them without any excuse whatsoever. Plenty of food was brought to the stockade and Lata's crew grew fat and sleek feeding on the good things provided by the Witi people. The chief of Witi sent a messenger to the stockade to find out whether the prisoners were fat enough to be good eating. This messenger came back and said to wait a while longer. Then later the chief sent a second messenger who reported that the men were fat and good eating. The chief therefore ordered his men to gather together the firewood and stones near the stockade, because on the morrow he planned to kill and eat the crew. Lata heard these orders so he asked his crew, "Whose turn is it now to save us from the Witi men?" Tupua-kele-ana called out and said he would save the crew. He began to dig in the middle of the stockade. He dug and dug until he had made a hole under its walls which at last reached the beach where Lata's canoe lay. Tupua-keli-ana returned to Lata and reported that a way of escape lay open. In the middle of the night the crew prepared to escape

539 from the stockade. As they were about to leave, Tupua-manatu suggested to Lata that Wakapeyi and Wakapalalu should be asked to discharge and fill up the inside of the stockade with feces. Lata thought this a good idea and it was done by the two men at his command before they crawled away from the stockade. All the men escaped safely and came to the beach. Here they found that the Witi's men had removed all the caulking from Lata's canoe. Matai-monomono was at hand so he came forward and recaulked Lata's canoe. Then the canoe was launched, all the crew embarked and prepared to sail away. The canoe was already some distance from the beach when Tupua-manatu thought, "The Witi canoes are fast sailing canoes; if they follow us they will overtake us again and we will once more be prisoners." He spoke thus to Lata, who was frightened until Tupua-manatu suggested that the canoe put back to the beach and a hole be made in each Witi canoe such that none would be seaworthy enough to follow Lata's canoe. Lata agreed to this. When they came near the beach, Pata-monono went ashore. He went from one Witi canoe to the next punching out the caulking of each. This completed he went back to the canoe and Lata pushed off again. They were not far from the shore when Tupua-manatu had another idea. He asked Lata, "What about the bailers in the Witi canoes? If these are not broken to pieces, the canoes are still able to follow us and follow us they will until they take us prisoners. I think the bailers should be broken to pieces." Lata agreed this was a good idea, so he turned the canoe shoreward once more. When it was near the beach, the Witi people still sleeping soundly, Matai-waowao jumped ashore and went to the Witi canoes. These were built very high above the ground, but Matai-waowao being a good jumper, was easily able to leap over the sides of each canoe, where he quietly smashed the bailers to pieces. This finished, he returned to the canoe again and Lata pushed off.

At daybreak the chief sent his men to bring Lata and his crew to the ovens. The Witi men to the stockade, but on opening the gates out rushed a flood of stinking feces which drove them away helter-skelter. Other men rushed to the beach. From here they saw Lata's canoe standing by outside the entrance to the harbor. They ran their own canoes down to the water, thinking easily to overtake Lata. But on being lifted into the water the canoes immediately began to fill up, and when they looked for the bailers they found nothing but crushed wood. The canoes sank to the bottom near the shore and as the Witi men danced with rage and fury on the beach, Lata waved a farewell, hoisted his sail and stood out to sea with a fair wind.

539 He sailed away and visited other lands, but of his further adventures in these countries, the people of Pukapuka have no story.

Stories about Gods

538 773 A large number of Pukapukan tales concern the activities of gods, more especially in their relations to human beings. A few stories of this class, however, refer to the interrelations of the gods themselves. Mention has already been made of the fighting between Te Awuawu, Ngaliyeyeu, Te Alangaoa and Te Atua Vaelua, the four gods who cause the winds and of the manner in which these four drew the god Kanitika from the sun because he was making the days too hot [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 311-312, category 776 or 116--analyst.] A third story which tells of a series of contests between Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, follows:

Of Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu

539 Te Awuawu was a god of the island of Wakalava and Ngaliyeyeu was a god from Tonga. The two gods set out from their home lands to enjoy a series of shoulder pushing contests (lukipoko) with the gods of the other island groups of Yiva, Yayake, Motulau and Samoa. The two gods met in Pukapuka and pushed against each other to determine superiority. In the first contest honors were even, but in the second Te Awuawu was pushed over. The two gods became firm friends and then decided on a competition to determine who could cohabit with the greatest number of Pukapukan women. Under cover of night they crawled into the houses cohabiting with many girls before the night became light. Thus they continued until the twentieth night when they met to consider the results of their night prowling. Ngaliyeyeu retired from the contest and Te Awuawu said he was tired of the sport. When each counted the women he had enjoyed (literally, counted his fishhooks), Te Awuawu was well ahead.

There was one difficult woman, Mulitauyakana, whom Ngaliyeyeu desired. One day she went to the back of the island to defecate. While squatting she looked up to see a bird scratching and pecking at her kilt which she had left on the sand. Mulitauyakana ran to drive away the bird, but the bird seized her and then transformed itself into Ngaliyeyeu. The two cohabited but Ngaliyeyeu was dissatisfied with his conquest. He expressed his disappointment; "So this is the stubborn woman I have desired so greatly! She is a horrible woman not worth the trouble of desire."

[A variant of this story relates that the bird was really an

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539 incarnated attendant spirit (tikitiki) owned by Te Awuawu but lent by him to Ngaliyeyeu when it became obvious that Ngaliyeyeu could not otherwise seduce Mulitauyakana. The bird pecked at the front of Mulitauyakana's kilt as she bathed. She rushed from the water to drive away the bird. Her kilt fell down and she could not but submit to Ngaliyeyeu after he had seen her nakedness.] (5)

The two gods held a final contest, that of bird netting, in which they were joined by a third god, Te Aliki-tu. The three netted birds all night long and counted their catch at dawn. Te Awuawu had the greatest number of birds, but his success was due to the fact that he controlled a flock of tame birds that flew into his net whenever he cried to them. This was the last contest between the two gods.

Of Milimili

538 Folktales concerning the relations of gods to humans tell of the manner in which a god is able to favor one of his worshippers; to save him from punishment for breaking a tapu, to assist him in economic activities, or to bring his soul back from the Underworld and place it again in the human body. In the following tale, Tangata-no-te-moana who was the god of the sea, had a fish form, hence the reference to his pushing over a house with his tail.

539 Milimili was a man, Makaia his wife. Milimili became sick and died. While the members of his maternal lineage wept for him at his wake, Makaia wandered desolate for three days along the outer beaches crying to two gods of her lineage, Te Pakitua and Te Pakialo, that they might throw back to her

[831] [762] [834] 5. For the Pukapukan women, as for the women of some other Polynesian groups, resistance to desired or undesired, to expected or unexpected, male aggression vanishes at once if the aggressor sees her exposed genitals. Shame felt at this nakedness seems to produce a feeling that all is lost and that nothing can be done further to ward off the aggressive male. Under other circumstances a woman's forced exposure of the genitals may produce such shame that suicide is the only way of preserving self-respect. The story of Te Anga (pp. 57-58) illustrates this point very clearly for Pukapuka. Similarly in the story of Wawine-mata, a woman may triumph over, and shame her opponent if the latter inadvertently exposes her genitals.

539 the spirit of her husband. The two gods pitied her and sought the aid of Tangata-no-te-moana. This god in turn enlisted the aid of Tulikalo, musician god of the Underworld. (6) Tulikalo agreed to beat hard at his wooden gongs "so that the land is lost, so that the house of Leva in the Underworld stands on one side." The spirit of Milimili had arrived as far as the house of Leva and was about to become incorporated in the plaiting elements of the mat that Leva was making when Tulikalo began whistling and beating his gongs furiously. The vibrations in the air shook the door of Leva's house, then the house itself began to sway. Tangata-no-te-moana struck the house with his tail. The house toppled over and the god snatched the spirit of Milimili from the plaiting and threw it back to the world above. The weepers for Milimili looked at his body. It was slowly coloring. Milimili sat up and sang the chant of the gods. He lived and his wife was happy.

Of Pakai

The story of Pakai tells of a Yato man who broke the tapu and stole food from the reserve island of Motu Ko.

Pakai was a priest who served Te Maungatu, god of Yamaunaa lineage. He went secretly to Motu Ko and at the place called Tua-welo, broke the tapus imposed by his god. The gods guarding the reserve were angry and they surrounded Pakai, rushing on him to strike him dead. Pakai heard their ghostly speech as one called to the other, "get ready your leaflet food platter and your fish-jaw knife." Pakai became frightened because he was surrounded on all sides and there was no place to run to. With the long bark streamer of his priestly headdress he addressed magic to his god and Te Laupapa elbowed an opening for him through the circle of angry gods. A second and a third time he was surrounded and again and again he was saved by the efforts of Te Laupapa. Finally he managed to escape from the island and ran along the reef back to Wale where he told the people gathered in the sacred worshipping house (*wale atua*) of his adventures.

Of Kutu

538 The story of Kutu and the gods is unclear as to motive. It

514 6. The Pukapukan conceptualization of the Underworld is
522 given in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, 327-328, category 116--analyst].

[538] is probable, however, that the woman Kutu lied to her husband as to her reasons for going to the bush and the gods wished
514 to punish her for her false speech. She very neatly turned
522 the tables on the gods in a manner that the Pukapukan finds
539 exceedingly humorous. The story is very popular with adults and children.

Kutu was a woman of Pukapuka. The gods made a wood bowl in which to place Kutu and carry her away. They went to her house but she saw them approach and climbed a tree, from which she refused to budge. At last she became frightened at the huge concourse of gods. Then she climbed down the tree, suspended herself from the lowermost branch and jumped inside the bowl which the gods raised up to her. The gods carried her off in procession chanting all the while,

Oh Kutu, Kutu is dying,
She spoke falsely in the bush,
She desired two penises,
She desired three penises,
Wet and dripping over.
Her fundament is hard and full.

As the gods proceeded on their way Kutu began to defecate inside the bowl. When the gods saw this they crowded around the bowl and so many were they that the pushing and jostling caused the bowl to fall to the ground. Those near by were immediately splashed with the feces. Those far away were not satisfied until they too were splashed by the contents of the bowl. Not a single god was left clean. Then all were happy.

Gods of the Sea

Stories of the gods Tipeva, Kanapu and Totoloa are based
539 on the Pukapukan idea that it is these gods who control the
[825] movements of deep sea fish. These fish are believed to be the sweethearts of the gods are are thought to carry to their masters all the pearl-shell fishhooks that they bite from the lines of the fishermen.

Tipeva and Kanapu were two gods of the sea. Their sweethearts (ipo) were the kakai and other large fish [the narrator mentions the names of nine of these.] When the men went fishing, they prayed to these gods to allow their fish sweethearts to be caught. When the fishhook was broken from the line, it was taken to Tipeva and by him fastened in the thatch of his house. Tipeva had an avekula fish as his favored mistress and the two would place their sleeping mats on the rocks of the

539 reef or on the rocks of the ocean bottom. One day Tipeva's fish went to the sea of Langilili and died there. Tipeva was so sorrowful without his sweetheart that he closed the door of his house forever.

Of Te Malo and Totoloa

[538] In the following story telling of the visit of a Pukapukan [226] man named Te Malo to the house of Totoloa under the sea, incidents relating to the killing of the ogre Yelekoua are not obviously related to the main tale but probably concern another story of Te Malo, part of which has been forgotten [226] today. The use of chewed mature coconut flesh spit out on the surface of the water to calm the ripples and render it possible to see fish biting at the hook, is a common Pukapukan fisherman's trick to this day.

Te Malo had two children. They went to the sea to fish bonito. They fished. They succeeded in catching some bonito. The group paddled inside the school of bonito. The (fish) sweetheart of Te Totoloa bit. It broke off the fishhook of Te Malo. Te Malo turned to the back of the canoe, looked out, (saw) his fishhook was broken. "Broken is my favorite uyoloto (hook cut from the middle of the shell)." Te Malo said to both his children, "Spit out so that (the water) is clear, spit with chewed coconut." Te Malo looked below, "Oh, my fishhook is lost." Te Malo had thought that maybe the fishhook was falling down; he looked down into the water, (saw) nothing. Te Malo said to his two children, " I am going to dive down under the ocean, I am going to look for my fishhook which has broken. You two spit out; watch my diving to the bottom of the sea. You two wait up here, till I come up again." Te Malo bid farewell to his two children. Finished bidding farewell, Te Malo dived. He dived, dived, dived, dived, e--e--e--arrived at the house of Totoloa (sic). Te Malo was a person with magical power, his god sent him straight to the house of Totoloa. Totoloa asked Te Malo, "What have you come for?" Te Malo answered, "I have come to search for my fishhook which was cut off by a fish. Is there nothing that your red-eyed sweethearts have brought here?" Totoloa answered, "I don't know. You come look on the roof of my house at the fishhooks brought back to my red-eyed sweethearts."

In his house, the one side of the roof was a dry roof; the other side of the roof was wet; that was where the red-eyed sweethearts gathered. In the dry side Totoloa stayed, and fastened the fishhooks brought by his red-eyed sweethearts.

539 Finished. Te Malo searched inside, Te Malo looked at the roof of the house. He looked, indeed the roof of the house was crowded with fishhooks. Te Malo searched for his fishhook which had broken. He searched, searched there, finally saw it. Te Malo said to Te Totoloa, "Here is certainly my fishhook which broke off." Te Totoloa answered him, "Where?" Te Malo said, "Where?" Te Totoloa said to him, "You take it." "Yes, I shall take my fishhook." Te Totoloa said, "Pull it out." Te Totoloa also said to Te Malo, "If you take that fishhook, my sweethearts here might grow angry." Te Malo answered, "If they get angry at you, you just hug them up." Te Totoloa gave it to Te Malo. Te Malo prepared to come back.

Totoloa watched. The two of them spoke, e--e--e--it was a long time. Te Malo said, "I shall go now, don't you think? I guess my two children are waiting for me." Totoloa said to Te Malo, "Whi! I suppose your journey is far, that's no good. You climb up to the single hanging coconut of my tree there." Te Malo arose, climbed to the coconut, hit down the single nut of Te Totoloa. He climbed down. Te Totoloa said to him, "Husk it (then), you drink the water, you eat the flesh, so that you are satisfied. I guess your journey is far." Te Totoloa said to Te Malo, "When you are through eating, you take hold of the two halves of the nut, you fold the husks over the shell, you throw it up onto the tree, so that it sticks again on the spikes." Te Malo did this to the two halves, stuck the husks on top of the shell, threw it onto the tree. It stuck onto the single spike tightly. (7) Te Malo said to him, "I shall go now, don't you think? It's been long. I guess my two children are waiting for me, I suppose also they have cried, thinking me dead." Totoloa said to him, "Yes, you will go, won't you? Go then." Te Malo said goodnight to Totoloa. "Here I am going now. Sleep you well, won't you?"

Te Malo floated up to the surface, floated up, floated up, floated, straight for their canoe. He breathed on top, climbed into the canoe. His two children asked him, "Did you find your fishhook?" Te Malo said, "Where, here it is." "Where

[261] 7. Hence the Pukapukan saying applied to a person not satisfied with his share of coconuts, "Wano koe ki te niu a Te Totoloa" (Go to the coconut tree of Te Totoloa), the implication being that only on some such magical tree will the dissatisfied one find sufficient coconuts to content his desire.

539 was it?" Te Malo told them, "Where? Why in the house of Te Totoloa. The red-eyed sweethearts of Te Totoloa broke it off." The two children asked, "Are there many similar hooks there?" Te Malo said, "There indeed are the many hooks of the men."

They went ashore. They reached the shore. They told of the breaking of the fishhook of Te Malo. Te Malo went to wash his hook in fresh water. Te Malo was thirsty. He went to the well of Yelekoua. Te Malo asked Yelekoua, "Is there a pool of yours here?" He said to Te Malo, "What about my pool here? There are the gourds filled. Are you thirsty? Te Malo answered, "Yes." Yelekoua said, "Come then, there are the filled gourds." Te Malo went to him. Yelekoua said, "Sit there." Te Malo refused, "No, you move over." Yelekoua said, "Sit right there." Te Malo refused again, "You move over." Yelekoua refused because there was his adz hidden below the mat, inserted under his two thighs. Te Malo did it (sat there). Yelekoua would not (move). He sat on the place where were the two knees of Te Malo. Yelekoua handed over the gourd, Te Malo drank it dry. Te Malo also took the next gourd, drank it dry. The thirst of Te Malo was quenched. Te Malo said to Yelekoua, "You drink." Yelekoua took the gourd, drank, drank, drank, (the gourd) stood on top of the mouth(that is, was tipped way back). He removed also the next gourd. He drank also, drank, drank, drank, bent his neck to the back: Te Malo had tempted him in order to stupify the mind of Yelekoua. Yelekoua also removed the last gourd. This was the third gourd of Yelekoua. He drank, drank, while Te Malo watched. The neck bent right back. Te Malo pulled out the adz hidden below the mat. He seized it, slashed the throat of Yelekoua. Yelekoua died. Te Malo called out to the island, "Oh, the people, come to beat the shark who injured us." The people came. They pounded Yelekoua, till he vanished. It is finished.

Of Te Ingoa

The story of Te Ingoa and the god Malangatiale is the last of this series. Te Ingoa and his father Te Moana were two of the survivors of Muliwutu lineage after the catastrophic tidal wave and this incident probably refers to a time when there was a sufficient body of old men to make an expedition to the reserve islet of Motu Ko to secure food for all the people.

The group of old men (tupele) made the journey along the eastern side of the reef to Motu Ko. When they reached the islet Te Ingoa left them and walked along the outer beach until he stood at the place called Tua-o-poutama. Te Ingoa looked up at the long line of birds flying to land from the distant sea.

539 These birds directed by his god Malangatiale flew straight to roost on the trees at the place where he stood. He called the old men to the place. They came with their nets and caught birds until they grew tired and their bones ached but still the birds came flying in from the sea to roost on the trees. When they had finished killing and had gathered the birds together, the canoes were full to sinking with their enormous loads. As the men paddled back to Wale they saw the line of birds circling back to sea, chased back to their perching grounds on ocean sandbanks by the god Malangatiale. The birds were divided among all the people and great was the fame of Malangatiale. To this day it is said when food is scarce, "If only the birds of Te Ingoa would come to us, then many would be the strange birds we could eat."

Animal Stories

The tropic bird's tail

The white-tailed tropic bird was perched on a coral rock in the lagoon. The many fish wished to pull out the long feathers from the bird's tail. The fish, one after the other, swam quietly up to the perching place, but each time the bird saw the intruder's approach and flew off, coming again to its perch when the discomfited fish returned to its fellows. Some fish changed their skin color to blend with the color of the sea, other fish hid behind coral growths, but the bird was always too wary to be caught. Finally the wumoemoe fish decided to try. It approached the tropic bird very carefully and whenever the bird looked its way the wumoemoe changed itself to the color of its background, first white like the coral, then black like loli coral, then speckled like another coral growth. The fish came close, reached right to the tail and before the tropic bird could fly away, the fish closed its teeth around the tail feathers. The bird squirmed loose, but when it rose into the air, it had left its tail feathers firmly gripped in the mouth of the wumoemoe. Thus the tail of the white-tailed tropic bird became short, and thus the bird today differs from the scarlet-tailed tropic bird which has a long tail.

The many fish rushed to the wumoemoe and pulled away the feathers from him. The luluau and tiwitiwi and other fish inserted some of the long feathers in their fins and these fish have long fins to this day. The taotaoama and other fish put the long feathers in their own tails and to this day these fish have very long tails. The wumoemoe made up this verse:

539 My trick was first to become dark,
Then to become light.
That is why the tropic bird
Lost forever its long tail.

Lord of the Sea

[538] The story of the ray and the swordfish relates the fight between the fish to determine which should be the ruler of the sea. In telling this story, the narrator inserted ejaculations "pu! .pu!" at appropriate points to indicate the sounds of a fierce struggle. Uttered in a piping tone of voice they represent a conventional method of indicating to listeners that a struggle is taking place between named contestants.

There was a dispute among the fish as to which were the strong and which were the weak. All the big fish of the sea divided themselves into pairs; the swordfish and the ray, the eel and the whale, the shark and the kingfish and so on. First the eel fought the whale. The eel was vanquished; its mouth was distorted by a blow of the whale's tale, and the whale's tail was splayed by a bite from the eel. Then the shark and the kingfish fought. When the shark rushed forward the kingfish jumped high into the air. Turning its head down and throwing its tail up it dived towards the shark swimming below. It bit a piece out of the shark's tail, an indentation that shows to this day. The shark was soon exhausted by the struggle and the kingfish exulted in its victory.

The ray and the swordfish quarreled next. The ray threw his two tails at the swordfish and made the swordfish angry with pain. Then as he rushed to spear the ray with his sword, the ray broke off the sword. The ray then retreated and hid himself under a rock. The swordfish sharpened his broken sword and sought everywhere for his opponent. He asked many fish of the sea where the ray was hiding but none could tell him. At last the papatateki fish showed the hiding place. As the ray slept peacefully under his rock the swordfish threw forward his head and rushed at the ray. His sword pierced the ray and tore him to pieces. The ray died and the swordfish cried, "Let all the fish hear! Those who would be stubborn and dispute my will, let them look at the fat of the ray!"

Octopus and Rat

[71] [538] The legend of the canoe of all the animals is the Pukapukan version of the popular Polynesian story of the ingratitude of the rat to the octopus.

The various crabs, the many birds and the rat went fishing

539 one day in a canoe. After they had cast anchor a squall came up and sank their canoe. The birds flew to land, the crabs crawled back to land along the sea bottom. The rat alone drifted on the surface of the sea, swimming and calling for help. He cried to the passing whale to take him to the land of Tinilau, but the whale refused and pushed him under water. The rat floated again to the surface and called to the turtle to take him to the land of Tinilau, but the turtle likewise refused and pushed him under water. The swordfish did likewise.

At last the rat called to the octopus. The octopus had pity for the sad plight of the rat and allowed the rat to jump on his back. Then he swam with him to the land of Tinilau. As they reached the shore the rat defecated on the head of the octopus and then ran inland very far off. He called to the octopus to feel his head. The octopus then found that his head was covered with feces. He gave chase to the rat but the rat ran inside a Pandanus log and was safe.

The following popular verse from a chant is supposed to call to mind this story:

> Oh rat, crying "Ngi! ngi! "
> You crawl on the roof,
> You jump down to the end rafters.
> We listen and say, "That is the rat! "
> You are killed by the people
> And your gravestone is set up.

Folk Tales

538
171 Of the folk tales here grouped together, some are versions of widely spread Polynesian tales, others seem to be limited to Pukapuka. Two of the stories are concerned with the relations between humans and fish. Two have slight moralistic undertone; the tale of Tatamanu tells what happened to a man who is stingy and does not share food with his people; the tale of Laumeakula and his wife apparently has as its motive for the drowning of the parents, their sorrow at the ungenerous conduct of nine of their children toward the tenth child. Of the two remaining tales, one is a simple folk tale, the scene of which is elsewhere than Pukapuka, the other relates to a story about the giants of the legendary land of Tongaleleva.

Kaliwi and the winds

539 The tale of Kaliwi and the komuli fish is given first. No reason could be advanced by informants as to how the woman Kaliwi came to be high up in a coconut tree, unless she had climbed to gather nuts and then became so nervous she did

539 not have courage enough to come down. Perhaps this is why she called the winds (8) to blow her down.

The woman Kaliwi climbed to the windy heights of a tall tree. She chanted a call to the Wakalua wind that it might pound with its strength and blow her to the ground. The wind blew its hardest but Kaliwi could not fall. Next she called to the Tokelau wind. This wind blew so that the tree tops shook and the seas stood wild but Kaliwi could not fall. Then she called in turn to the Wakatiu, to the Palapu and to the Mauake winds. Each of these winds blew so that the coconuts fell down, the seas roared and the trees were bent against each other. But Kaliwi did not fall. At last Kaliwi prayed to the Tonga wind. Squalls sprang up and raced through the air. the sky was lost in rain, the branches of the trees broke and the cold wind pounded. Kaliwi shivered with the cold, her flesh quivered, her hands became numb and she fell from the tree top into the sea. As she fell her eye was pierced by a stick and gouged from her head. Kaliwi died and was turned into a komuli fish. That is why the komuli fish today has a sunken eye-it is the eye of Kaliwi torn by the stick.

Luea and his Children

Luea and his two children, Tuakatua and Kaimawu, went fishing one day in a canoe. A squall blew up and broke the anchor line so that the canoe drifted. The three paddles were broken by the father as he tried to move the canoe to land. A strange canoe called Spirit-of-the-sea came and took Kaimawu away. There remained Luea and Tuakatua. Finally the canoe overturned. A big fish swam by and Luea was swallowed up but not before he had time to tell his child, "If my strength rages inside the stomach of the fish, grasp its back and you will be carried to the reef."

Then the strength of the father raged inside the stomach of the shark. Tuakatua held to the fluke of the shark and was carried to the reef. He wandered inland, eating unripe fallen nuts until he regained some of his strength. When it came to other days, he climbed coconut trees and he soon had strength to walk back to Wale along the reef. The people supposed at first that it was a spirit of the outer reef approaching, but

8. The directions from which these Pukapukan winds blow are given in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole pp. 22, category 116--analyst].

539 later they saw it was certainly Tuakatua. The boy was taken to the place called Matala and set down between two posts erected wide apart. They fed him food until he grew large enough to fill the space between the posts. Then he told his story that the men could hear.

The Ten Brothers

The husband was named Laumeakula, the wife Laumeamelo. Their family consisted of ten boys. The first born was Tayi (One). The second was Lua (Two). The third was Tolu (Three) and so the children were named up to Laungaulu (Ten).

The father and his ten children decided to go to the bush to cut trees from which to make fishing canoes. Laumeakula gave one adz to Tayi, two adzes to Lua, three adzes to Tolu and so on for all the sons up to Laungaulu who was given ten adzes. Then all went to the forest named Te Tea. Each cut down his tree and trimmed away the branches. As Tayi worked at his wood his adz broke. He knew his brother Lua had two adzes so he went to him begging Lua's second adz that he might finish his canoe named Te-po-lunga-te-po-lalo in which he planned to sail to the place named Tua-peaupeau. Lua refused his brother's request saying that if he lent his second adz and then broke his first he would be unable himself to finish his own canoe. Lua advised Tayi to borrow from Tolu who owned three adzes. But Tolu also refused his brother and so did each of the other brothers in turn, even Laungaulu who had ten adzes.

At this, Tayi cursed his brothers for being stingy (literally, "red-bellied"). He complained to his father of the meanness of his brothers and both parents felt sorry for their firstborn son. They advised Tayi to ask once again of Lua who should be the partner of his older brother in all things because the two boys were born one after the other. The parents further told Tayi that when he had finished his canoe he was to wrap his two parents in a Pandanus mat, tie them tight with an anchor line, place the bundle in the bow of his canoe and then drop the bundle overboard in the sea colored like the feces of the octopus. If the other brothers saw Tayi with his bundle he was to tell them it contained only Tikinau and Tekenau. Thus, by having Tayi throw his parents overboard to drown, the parents hoped to shame the stinginess of their other sons.

Tayi obeyed the instructions of his parents. His brother Lua was this time sorry for Tayi and lent his second adz, though not generously but with many words as to its care. Tayi finished his canoe. The canoes of his brothers were already launched and out fishing, Lua fishing on the sea colored

539 white, Tolu on the cream colored sea, Wa in the reddish sea, Lima in the red sea, Ono in the yellow, Witu in the orange, Valu in the dark sea, Iva in the black and Laungaulu in the sea where the sun's rays fell.

Tayi launched his canoe. He went to his parents and sorrowed over them, embracing them in farewell. Then he wrapped and tied his parents in mats, placed the bundle in the bow of his canoe and paddled through the many seas. As he passed through the white sea, Lua asked as to the bundle on the bow but, Tayi replied that it was only Tikinau and Tekenau. He answered this in all the seas as he passed each of his brothers fishing in his favorite water. In the end Tayi came to the sea colored like the feces of the octopus. He tied his parents to two large stones and dropped the bundles overboard. They sank below to the bottom of the ocean. Laungaulu thought of the two things that had been piled high on the bow of his brother's canoe. He was puzzled, and inside him he felt that he had lost his two parents.

The Turtles of Tatamanu

Tatamanu was a chief much given to bad things such as eating secretly and being stingy. One day he went to the back of the island where he saw a turtle. He did not kill the turtle but merely speared it. He removed its fat, its liver and one piece of flesh, eating these foods secretly after he had let the turtle escape. Many turtles did he capture in this way. There came a time when his wife was pregnant. Her moons finished, she gave birth to her child. When it fell to the ground, the people looked. The child of Tatamanu was crawling like a turtle. Tatamanu confessed his secret sins, but it was of no use. Not one of his many children was born like a human being; all were made like turtles.

Then Tatamanu wailed to his parents, his brothers and sisters. "Don't bury me in the cemetery of my fathers. Separate my grave so that I am in one place and my children in another." They buried Tatamanu in a place all alone by the road of Te-kulanga. Even today, people who go past this place say, "There is the cemetery of Tatamanu, a stingy person and one who ate in secret. He was disowned and thrown out by his ancestors." (9)

[764] 9. There was an intimate connection between the individual, his paternal lineage, and the cemetery which bore the same name as the lineage. The cemetery was so much a part of the sentiments constellated round the lineage group that burial in any other place than the lineage

The Woman of Stone

539 Luka the husband and Leiakunavai his wife lived in the middle of the island. Leikunavai gave birth to three children. The eldest born was a girl, Yuyulu. The second was a boy, Lapakiuila. The third was a girl, Yinalangaivaka. Then Leiakunavai became pregnant for a fourth time.

Luka thought he would go fishing to net *tiwitiwi* fish. He and his wife anchored their canoe in the lagoon. Luka dived for clams to use as bait. He let down his net and carried on his fishing. Then it began to rain. Luka was underwater arranging his net when a stone fell onto the canoe. It had the same shape and form as his wife, Leiakunavai. When Luka came to the surface there were two women in his canoe and because both had the same form and looks, Luka was at loss to know which was his wife. He questioned the two women. Both his wife and the rock woman claimed to be Leiakunavai. It was hard for Luka to know which to throw from his canoe. He threw out his real wife. Leiakunavai drifted out to sea while Luka and the rock paddled back to the island. The rock woman went to Luka's home where she lived with him, but she she had no child within her, her abdomen was swollen rock merely.

Leiakunavai drifted at sea. She prayed to the gods and they placed a rock for her to rest her toes on. She prayed again and the rock slowly grew in size until it reached her navel, until it was red on top, until it was as big as an island, until it was covered with coconut and Pandanus trees. Here, on the island called Lotutu, Leiakunavai lived and gave birth to twins named Te-mangaitua and Te-mangaialo. These three lived together and the twins grew up. One day they asked their mother as to the identity of their father, but the mother answered that their only father was the posts of the house. Then the children called on the posts to eat the food placed before them, but the posts would not eat. Again they questioned their mother and this time she answered that Luka was their father. She charged the twins to seek out their father's home and to return with their elder sisters. On no account, however, were they to return with Luka. If she saw Luka, Leiakunavai warned them she would turn into a rat and hide herself in a Pandanus log.

[764] 9. (continued) burial ground was unthinkable, and where this was decreed by island authorities, was tantamount to the deepest disgrace.

539 The twins paddled off to the island where Luka lived. The people of this island seized them, placed them in an enclosure and planned to kill them on the third night. The older twin chanted his cry:

Light raised the shadow on Lotutu,
We were born Te-mangaitua and Te-mangaialo,
We two shall be eaten by our progenitor,
By our father, Luka!

Luka and the people of the island heard their cry. Luka questioned them as to their coming. When he heard the reason, he decided to return with his children to his wife on the island of Lotutu. The twins warned him against this but Luka was stubborn. As the canoe came near to Lotutu, Leiakunavai counted the heads. Six people she saw. She entered a Pandanus log and cried "Ngi, ngi! " like a rat. When the children and Luka arrived at her house she was gone.

Giants of Tongaleleva

This is a story from Tongaleleva. Te-wuloa and Te-wupoto were wife and husband. They came from foreign lands. When they walked on the sea their heads rose into the sky. So swift was their walk that all the fish in the sea were thrown here and there by the speed of their passage. They seized and ate all the man-eating fish of the sea. When they landed on the island of Tunatau to sleep, their snoring was like the beating of thunder. Those people who walked close to them were inhaled up the giants' nostrils, so great was the rush of air.

When they ate, they fed continuously for ten days and nights. When they slept, they slept for six months at a stretch. When they cohabited, it took them six moons to finish. When their children were born they were gigantic animals.

The giants lived on Tunatau for a long time. Then the people became tired of being inhaled up the nostrils of the giants. The people became angry. There was a fight and the giants were chased back to Tongaleleva.

Tales of Man-eaters

538 Grouped together here are all the tales of man-eating persons
266 (tangata kai tangata) or demons (tupua kai tangata). The phrase
578 kai tangata is used in ordinary speech to refer to anyone who
154 is brutal, ferocious, cruel, or just mean. In these stories, however, it invariably refers to a creature who eats people, both adults and children. In one instance the cannibal is a god. Most of the man-eater stories tell first of the eating of a person,

538 oven). Here there is another association with the cooking
266 and eating of food, as if the ultimate revenge can only be
578 gained through the eating of the hated person. Insofar as
154 there are no records in Pukapuka of actual cannibalism, this expression for revenge, together with the other eating concepts above, presumably have reference to a deep seated vicarious satisfaction obtained from the use of these idioms and concepts.

Of Wawine-mata

539 Wawine-mata was a man-eating woman. Her child was a small infant. One day she wished to go looking for food so she searched among the houses for a woman to care for her child while she was away. She found a woman named Tulekaleka (10) who agreed to watch over the infant while the mother was away. Wawine-mata gave explicit instructions about the child: if it cried, Tulekaleka was to give it water; if it hungered, Tulekaleka was to feed it coconut flesh.

After Wawine-mata had left, the infant began to cry in hunger. Tulekaleka fed it coconut flesh. Then she tore off the child's arm and ripped out its liver. The infant died. Tulekaleka washed off the blood from the corpse and wrapped it up nicely in a mat. She baked the infant's liver in the oven.

Wawine-mata returned to find Tulekaleka sitting quietly beside the bundled up infant. She thought the child was asleep and wished to wake it but Tulekaleka persuaded her to let it lie until she had tasted a portion of delicious food that she produced from the oven. Wawine-mata tasted, then praised the food, asking for more. She became thirsty and Tulekaleka took the coconut containers to fill them at the well. Instead of filling them, however, she smashed them one by one against a stone. Wawine-mata saw this. Suddenly she turned to her bundled infant. She opened the mat to find inside the dead

[171] 10. The sex of the individual Tulekaleka is of comparative importance because of the fact that Kennedy [see bibliographical references in 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 416, category 113 or 116--analyst.] reports from Vaitupu a story very similar to this in which Tulekaleka was a boy. In recording this story we assumed that the Pukapukan Tulekaleka was female. Informants agreed by letter that this was correct, all save two very reliable elderly men, who were positive that the Pukapukan character was an adult man.

539 disfigured body of her child. Enraged, she rushed after Tulekaleka but the latter quickly climbed a tree that leaned over the well. Wawine-mata looked in the water seeing there the reflection of her enemy. She dived into the well to grasp the image. Tulekaleka, seeing her feet pointing upwards, shamed her by crying: "There, there, I see the vulva of Wawine-mata!"

Then Wawine-mata found that Tulekaleka was not in the water but high up the tree. She climbed up the trunk to reach Tulekaleka, but Tulekaleka kicked her down and broke off her arms. Wawine-mata climbed up with her feet only. Tulekaleka kicked her down again, this time breaking off her feet. A third time Wawine-mata climbed, wriggling up by twisting her trunk. A last time she was kicked down by Tulekaleka. She fell dead at the bottom of the tree.

Of Vaetuaniu

There was a land on which only children lived. The children spent all their days surf-riding. A cannibal spirit from another land turned itself into a drifting log and in this disguise was found by the playing children. The children climbed onto the log in their sport which then carried them away to the land of spirits where all the children were eaten. Three times this happened. The third time Vaetuaniu was one of those carried away and put in an enclosure in the spirit land preparatory to being eaten up by the cannibals.

When night came the children tried to escape from the enclosure. One child tried to kick the fence down but he broke his leg with the kicking. Vaetuaniu repaired the fracture and asked another child to try. All tried, but even until daylight none were successful in making a hole in the fence.

In the morning, the spirit led the children to his house that he might eat. Vaetuaniu asked to be allowed to go to the beach to defecate. The spirit gave permission only when Vaetuaniu pointed out that it would be silly to eat his feces as well as his flesh. Vawtuaniu went to the beach. He made a small coconut leaf torch, then spat into a coconut shell and placed the shell on top of the torch instructing the shell to answer the spirit should he call. Then Vaetanuiu hurried away. Three times the spirit called and three times the coconut leaf answered, asking delay until the defecation was finished. When the impatient spirit came searching, Vaetuaniu was missing and only a piece of coconut leaf remained.

Vaetuaniu had meanwhile called on the seabirds to take him to the land of Tinilau. Only the matiku bird would do this.

539 The spirit, however, saw the bird flying away with Vaetuaniu on its back so he forced the bird to shake Vaetuaniu off his back and the boy came tumbling down to earth. The spirit ran to seize him but Vaetuaniu kicked him away. A second time he kicked the spirit and severed its head from its body. Then when it appeared as if the head would join itself again to the body, Vaetuaniu beat the spirit with a stick until its head and body were smashed utterly to pieces. Vaetuaniu called to the children and people of the island. They crowded on top of the spirit and pounded him with stones to such a degree that he was ground to dust. The island was safe and no more children were eaten by cannibal spirits.

Of Mokoyikungavali

Wiwiuli and Wiwitea were two parents who had a daughter named Yina. The parents were preparing taro for their next meal and so they sent Yina to gather *puapua* leaves with which to wrap the food before putting it in the oven. Yina hurried off to the *puapua* tree owned by her parents, then climbed to the top to tear off the ten bunches that her parents desired. Mokoyikungavali, who also claimed ownership of this tree heard Yina in the tree top and ordered her to climb down. Three times he ordered and three times the frightened Yina refused his command. Finally she slid down the tree and into the open mouth of Mokoyikungavali which he held gaping at the bottom. As Yina's feet were swallowed she cried to her parents:

Wiwiuli and Wiwitea, oh!
I fulfill your order to pick the leaves
Of the tree of Te Tea.
The creature Mokoyikungavali is here,
Sucking, sucking, swallowing,
I am finished inside his body!

She called again when she was swallowed to the waist, yet again when only her head remained free. None heard her. Her crying finished. The belly of Mokoyikungavali was so swollen with his meal that he could not stand, he simply sprawled on the ground at the foot of the *puapua* tree. The parents waited long, they then came to search, thinking perhaps that Yina had fallen from the tree. They found the ogre where he had fallen and questioned him as to the whereabouts of their daughter. Mokoyikungavali admitted he had swallowed her but stressed the fact that the girl had been stealing leaves from the tree which shaded him from the hot sun.

The parents would not be pacified. They threatened to

539 strike Mokoyikungavali dead unless he vomited up their daughter. The cannibal vomited and vomited until he had spewed forth the body of the daughter, but Yina was indeed dead, her skin burnt from her body by the heat inside the ogre's stomach. Then the parents grew angry at the sight of their dead daughter. They picked up stones and pounded Mokoyikungavali until he was dead.

Of Lua-tulivae

Mangaiwouwou was a man who joined in a fight and was badly injured. The back of his head was broken and his two lungs pierced. The only parts of his body unscathed were his buttocks and knees. He crawled from the fight on his kneecaps and came to his house. His wife and children heated water to massage his knees. They did this for many days until teeth finally grew from his kneecaps. Then Mangaiwouwou, or Lua-tulivae (Two-knees), as he came to be called, chased his wife and children in order that he might catch and eat them. The wife and children built five bonfires and set them burning. Lua-tulivae came hurrying along in pursuit and fell over the first fire. He rolled from it burnt, but not dead. He rolled over the second fire and his skin was burnt from his body, he was limp but not dead. He fell on the third fire and all the teeth were burnt from his knees. On the fourth fire he was scorched and sizzling. On the fifth fire he was burnt dead.

His wife and children were indifferent to his fate. It merely serves the shark right, they said, because he would have eaten us had he caught us.

The Cycle of Te Palo

538 A series of five stories is told about Te Palo, culture hero
773 from the land of Yayake. Three of these concern his exploits with man-eating demons, two are semi-historical and concern the visits of Te Palo to Pukapuka and his encounter with the Pukapukan hero Te Nana in Yayake.

Te Palo and the Demon Crab

539 Te-unga-tupua (Demon-crab) was a man-eating creature who lived in a hole in the land of Yayake. The people of Yayake were worried at the depredations of this creature so they decided to kill it. They went to the place where Te-unga-tupua lived and built close by ten huge rubbish piles. Te Palo boldly walked before the hole of the creature and attracted him to the open, then towards the place where were the rubbish piles. So intent was

539 Te-unga-tupua on seizing Te Palo that he did not notice when Te Palo lit the piles with his torch.

Te-unga-tupua crawled over the first fire and was scorched. One of his legs was broken off. Te Palo still moved backwards and on the second fire the creature broke off his second leg. This continued for nine fires and after crawling over these all the legs of the demon crab had been broken off. Only the crab's body and his testicles remained intact. Te Palo still continued to attract him and over the tenth fire the body and the testicles of the crab fell from their shell. Then Te Palo called the people of Yayake to come and kill the ogre. They rushed forward with sticks and stones. They pounded Te-unga-tupua until nothing remained but a soft mass.

Te Palo and Malele

Malele was a cannibal in the land of Yayake who owned a pool in which people came to bathe. If the people came in groups Malele would not molest them, but if they came singly or two women or two children together, then Malele would kill and eat them, hiding their bones in a secret place.

One day two people came to bathe. Malele killed one but the other escaped and ran back to tell the people that it was indeed Malele who was responsible for the disappearance of many people. Te Palo heard this and when it came to another day he went to bathe in Malele's pool. Malele was resting in the water and he invited Te Palo to bath with him. Te Palo did so and soon the pair began arguing as to which should dive first. Te Palo said Malele should have the privilege because he was the owner of the pool, but Malele insisted that Te Palo should be the first to dive because he was the invited guest bather. Because Malele was stubborn in his insistence, Te Palo dived first but he came up very quickly. There was Malele preparing to press his head underwater and drown him.

This time Malele dived down. Te Palo quickly pressed on his head and placed his second hand on Malele's malo, holding his head and body deep under the water. As Malele's anger surged within him, Te Palo composed his chant:

Held under the water is Malele,
Under water in his own pool.
Air bubbles break the water's surface.
Angry is the rage in Malele's intestines.

The two men struggled back and forth in the pool, Te Palo always keeping Malele's head towards the deep water. Then

539 as Malele grew weak from lack of breath, Te Palo pressed down harded and harder until Malele died. Te Palo called to the people.

> Oh Yayake, vicious Malele has lost the laugh.
> Come here to pound him so that his skin
> is in shreds.
> So that he is smashed to pieces,
> So that his skin is rotten,
> So that he is as soft as taro pudding!

The people rushed forward and pounded Malele's body until it was smashed to pieces. Then they looked for the place where he lived. It was chockfull of the bones of the people he had killed and eaten. Te Palo claimed a bone from the hand of Malele. Ever afterwards he used this bone as a needle for sewing the sail of his swift outrigger canoe.

The Bird of Witi

After Te Palo killed Malele he heard that there was also a man-eating creature in Witi. This creature had the shape of an enormous koloa bird. The bird would wait on land for returning fishing canoes. If the canoes had been successful the bird ate all the fish. If they were unsuccessful, the bird ate all the crew instead.

Te Palo went to Witi and inquired there from the people the habits of the creature. They told him and Te Palo decided to kill the bird. Te Palo went fishing on the first day and when he arrived back the koloa bird, as described, came to eat all his fish. On the second day, Te Palo made a wooden cover to fit over the bow of his fishing canoe. He caught many fish and distributed these over the canoe so that some were in the stern, some amidship and others in the bow. When he returned to the beach with his catch, he was met by the Koloa which as usual began to devour the fish in the canoe. The koloa began in the stern and steadily ate his way towards the bow. When the koloa reached the bow Te Palo picked up his cover and fitted it tightly over the bow, thus enclosing the koloa. The anger of the koloa raged and seethed inside the cover, but Te Palo kept it pressed down tight until the koloa weakened with exhaustion. Then he called all the people who came running with sticks and stones. They pounded the koloa until it was broken to pieces and ground the pieces to dust.

Other Stories of Man-eaters

Of Kaleva

539 Kaleva was a man-eating warrior. He would walk through the bush striking down and eating all the people he found there. Thus it was for many days and soon there was left no straggler that he might eat. The wife of Kaleva, a woman named Yina, and her two children Te Lupeamanu and Te Ikamaitai, became frightened thinking that Kaleva would probably kill and eat them next. So Yina said to her children one day, "You are only little morsels to eat, but you are my two children. Let us raise our house high on wooden piles so that Kaleva, when he comes for us, will be unable to reach us." The children listened to their mother and the house was soon raised high.

Sure enough Kaleva came soon from the bush looking for victims. He came to his house and seeing it high in the air he called to his children to hand him down his bunch of coconut fibers from which he wished to make some rope. The children replied that the fibers were nowhere in the house. But each knew that they were only pretending. Kaleva wished the children to descend and the children wished Kaleva to ascend that they might tie his neck with a rope as he came up and then strangle him with it.

Kaleva became impatient at the prevarication of his children and he jumped up the piles to his house. His children were waiting for him with a rope. They snared his neck and then strangled him. Then they composed a chant and called it out that the whole village might hear. This was their chant:

Concerning the growth of Kaleva,
He was born a man-eater.
Who were his two parents
That they did not pinch him at birth?
Kaleva was indeed a shameless person,
He ate the menstrual pads of women.
This it was, that made his heart rotten!

Of Papalangi

Papalangi was a man-eater and the people of the village punished him for this. Papalangi was shamed by this and his brain became stupified. He became mischievous and decided to have his revenge on the people. One day as he walked along the road of Walepuka he saw two children playing on the platform of a house. He took his spear and drove it through the bodies of the two children until they were dead. Then he realized what he had done and he rushed a away to hide. He found no safe place anywhere until he came to a horrible rubbish pile where things of the parturient women were thrown. He hid under this pile and was safe though the people of the island hunted for him everywhere.

One day a woman went to this pile to throw there the feces of her infant child. Papalangi stirred inside the pile and the woman saw him move. She roused the people and they hastened to the place. They captured Papalangi and decided to punish him for his murder by beating him with switches of ngangie wood. Papalangi was whipped until his skin hung in shreds. The parents of the murdered children came last. They heated two oven stones until the stones were red hot, and then applied these stones to Papalangi's testicles. The final punishment was decided on: Papalangi was to be thrown into the sea and not buried in his family cemetery. One rope was tied to his arms and another to his legs. Papalangi was taken to sea and dropped overboard. Men of one canoe pulled on one rope, men of another canoe on the other rope and thus they pulled until Papalangi was torn to pieces.

Of Wulukulamatoto

Wulukulamatoto was a man-eater who had two wives. He spent many of his days catching booby birds which he would bring back home for his wives to eat. One day Wulukulamatoto was struck by the canoe called Spirit-of-the-sea as he was sailing to his bird island and he died.

The spirit of the dead man could not desert his two wives so he brought them at night presents of many booby birds. The wives were pleased with this attention and began to eat the birds but their god warned them not to eat the food because the spirit of their dead husband would enter their intestines with the food and then eat them until they faded away and died. The wives were frightened and refrained from tasting the food. Then they composed an insulting chant about Wulukulamatoto:

Make a place of cohabitation,
A place for Wulukulamatoto,
He strings boobies to feed his wives,
But he was obstinate towards us.
For him our wombs are hard,
As hard as seeds of the wetau tree.

Of Witielo and Witilangi

Witielo and Witilangi were two priests of the paternal lineage

539 of Tua. Their god was Ngaliyeyeu. They were troublesome priests and man-eaters. One day when they were walking on the reef they came upon a priest named Pulekava. This man was spearing malatea fish. The priests wished to kill Pulekava with their own fish spears but Pulekava saw them coming. He prayed to his god Vaelua for strength and then challenged Witielo and Witilangi in such a determined fashion that the two man-eaters were frightened and hurried on their way.

Witielo and Witilangi took to their canoe and paddled further along the reef until they came to the place where a priest of the god Te Laupapa, a man named Malowou, was fishing. The men beached their canoe and hurried towards Malowou but Te Laupapa set their canoe adrift. The men hastened back to rescue their drifting canoe. A second time they advanced towards Malowou and a second time their canoe was set drifting by the god. Again they hastened back to salvage it and this time Witilangi stayed to guard it while Witielo rushed to spear Malowou. Malowou had a netful of manini tauila fish which he hurled in the face of the advancing priest. The spikey fins stuck in Witielo's face. He squirmed with pain and fled back to the canoe where he told Witilangi to try to kill Malowou while he guarded the canoe. Witilangi rushed forward confidently but he too was met with a netful of manini fish. Screaming with pain he ran to the canoe. The two priests decided to drop their attack. They decided that Malowou was helped by a powerful god against whom it would be impossible to tilt. They paddled back home and Malowou was saved.

Te Atua-pule

538
773 The last story of this series concerns the killing of Te-Atua-pula, the man-eater god, by two Pukapukan men, Wotoa and Te Yoa; the two brothers who had previously made the visit to the Underworld, [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 326-329, category 539 or 116--analyst.] Because of their undoubted powers as priests, they were called upon to deal with the cannibal god. Another version relates that the reason the two brothers were anxious to kill the cannibal was because he had previously eaten Te Yoa's wife when she had incautiously strayed too near its hole. The reference to the sacred foot of Te Yoa is obscure. The second account merely states that women nearby saw the two heroes were being dragged in the hole of the god and cried out to them to stiffen their legs, plant their feet securely against a rock and use this pressure

538 as a support to exert all their strength. The place where this
773 god had its hiding hole, Te-lua-no-te-atua-ngutu-uli (Hole-
of-the-black-mouthed-god), is still pointed out; all that remains is a depression in the ground.

539 Te Atua-pule lived inside his hole. He would stick his head outside the hole and watch people going by. If the people went in pairs or groups, Te Atua-pula would not distrub them. If a single person wandered by, the man-eater would attract him to his hole and then when he dropped inside Te Atua-pule would eat him.

His habits became known to the people and they all asked Wotoa and Te Yoa to kill the man-eater. These two decided to try. They came near the hole and rattled there strings of Conus shells. When Te Atua-pule poked his head outside the two men hid and when Te Atua-pule withdrew into his hole, then the men stood up and rattled the shells again. Gradually the men came nearer the hole. At last, when Te Atua-pule looked forth, Wotoa seized the head and tried to pull the man-eater into the open. But instead Wotoa was being pulled into the hole. Te Yoa grasped his malo and the two men pulled mightily. Both the man-eater and the men became furious with anger. In the struggle Te Atua-pule broke loose and came again to attack. A woman standing some distance off watching the struggle saw the peril of the two men. She called to Te Yoa, telling him to raise his sacred foot. Te Yoa did as he was bid and Te Atua-pule fell over, but before the men could jump on him he slipped into the sea and came up in Samoa. He was lost from Pukapuka forever, but he lived as a man-eater in Samoa where he gained the name of Te Atua-ngutu-uli (Black-mouthed-god).

Stories about historical personages

538 The remaining stories deal with historical characters. They
173 fall naturally into six classes: stories of love, of adultery and its punishment, of thieving and its punishment, of revenge for insult of homicide, stories of historical personages who have become invested with much of the aura of culture heroes, and finally stories of voyaging Pukapukans. Though some of the stories are slight, they contain valuable information on social customs and structure; all were considered by informants worthy of telling. They constitute the background for much of everyday conversational reference.

Stories of Love

538 Stories and anecodotes coming within this category serve

538 to illustrate patterns relating to courtship and marriage. Like all incidents dealing with the relations between the sexes, the Pukapukan finds them both popular and diverting.

Of Nonu

539 Ko kioleloa te matua tane; ko kioleitaita te matua wawine. Ko Nonu ta laua tamatane. Ko to latou wale ya ulaki ki te kilikili kula. Ko ta laua tama ko Nonu, e tama motoilele. E kiai ya kitea te wui matawale, ya yiaki wua ki lunga o te papanga o to latou wale. Womamai la te wui takanga a te wui tamawine, ma o latou yei, ke wakalili ai i a Nonu. Onoono atu i a Kioleloa ma Kioleitaita ki na tamawine. Valovalo loa lua matutua ia ki ta laua tama, ki a Nonu. Teia ta laua valovalo, "E Nonu e, yukena mai te kapa tautala o to tatou wale na; mata mai na yolonga na pe lelei pe kikino." Yuyuke i a Nonu i te kapa tautala. Onoono atu, e kikino. Kakole la i a Nonu ki lua ona matutua, "E kikino. E ye wu toku manako. Tuli atu ki na imu na ke nani ai ki te kele imu." Wo na yolonga takenga. Yolo mai na toe takanga. Peia mai oki i a Nonu ki lua ona matutua.

Ko Moa te ingoa o te tamawine ia: e tamawine wakalialia, lau kumikumia, pakuongea, wakawewewewewela. Ya makatia e te wui tamawine no te wakalialia. Wano loa i a Moa koto tiale, ni tiale momoto wua ona mea; e kiai ya matatala. Ya pau na tiale matatala e te kotoa e te wui tamawine. Tui loa i a Moa i tona yei tiale momoto ia. Otiake te tui, wano loa wuwulu. Otiake te wuwulu, yau loa tapena. Yei ake ma tona yei momoto ia. Yaele loa la te ngutu ala. Oko loa ki te wale o Nonu ma. Kakalo mai loa i a Kioleloa ma Kioleitaita. Valovalo loa ki a Nonu, "E Nonu e, mata mai te tamawine nei pe lelei, pe kino." Yuyuke atu la i a Nonu te Kapa tautala. Onoono atu la i a Nonu. Kamuloa i a Nonu ulangia. Manako loa i a Nonu. Mea loa ki lua ona matutua, "Aumai ake la, wakawiti mai ki lunga ke maneanea ake maua." Talatu la te tala ki te wenua, "I a Nonu ma Moa na, na wakao." Kamuloa i te wui tamawine toto na palo. Makekea i te mauanga o Nonu i a Moa. Wo loa takele i a Nonu ma Moa. Wo oki te wui tamawine taumatavao i a Nonu ma Moa. Kakole la te wui tamawine, "I te wakapau tane, yaula e tamawine wakalialia." Ko Nonu ya tautaua na lei, ya lakei ai to latou wale. Pau ai.

Kioleloa was the father, Kioleitaita the mother. Nonu was their son. Their house had been filled with red coral stones. Their child, Nonu, was a beautiful child. He had not seen the housefronts; he had remained only on the platform of their house. The pairs of girls came by with their leis to attract Nonu. Kioleloa and Kioleitaita looked at the girls. The two

539 parents called out to their child, to Nonu. This was their call, "O Nonu, oh, open there the corner of the roof of our house; inspect the procession here (see) whether it is good or bad." Nonu opened the corner of the roof. He looked out, it was no good. Nonu answered his two parents, "They're bad. My mind is not pleased. Chase them to the ovens to smear themselves with ashes." The procession of pairs went. Other pairs moved up. Nonu (said) the same to his two parents.

Moa was the name of a girl; she was a homely girl, with kinky hair, smelly, ugly. She had been thrown out by the girls because of her ugliness. Moa went to pick tiale, tiale buds only were her things, they had not yet flowered. All the open tiale had been picked by the girls. Moa sewed her lei of tiale buds. Finished sewing, she went to bathe. Finished bathing, she returned to get ready. She put on her lei of buds. She walked along the main road. She reached the house of Nonu and the others. Kioleloa and Kioleitaita looked out. They called to Nonu, "O Nonu, oh, examine this girl whether she is good or bad." Nonu opened the corner of the roof. Nonu looked out. Nonu was indeed delighted. Nonu was pleased. He said to his two parents, "Fetch her, let her climb up here so that we two can play."

The story was told to the island: "Nonu and Moa have married." Indeed, all the girls were dumbfounded. They were jealous of the getting of Nonu by Moa. Nonu and Moa went to bathe. The girls also went to spy on them. The girls objected, "What a waste of a man, she's such an ugly girl." Nonu collected seaweed, decorated their house. It is finished.

Of Angaino

Ko Angaino e tane Yato. Ko te yoa o Angaino, ko Kalou. Ya wai ipo i a Angaino ki a Te Oi. Talatala loa i a Angaino ki a Kalou, "Wano koe ki a Te Oi, ke yau ki aku nei. Ka wo maua ki Tua o Wakatiu." Wakatika loa i a Kalou. Wano loa. Ko Kalou, e tane Ngake. Wano loa i a Kalou ki a Te Oi. Wo loa laua, wo atu laua ki te vao, konikoni atu laua.

Kali la i a Angaino ke yau. Kali, e. Kali mai te taeyao e, tutonu te la. Kali mai te tutonungala e, awiawi. Na wo i a Kalou ma Te Oi ki te vao. Yau loa la i a Te Oi ki Tupapa, ki te wale atua, no ai iai. E kiai i a Angaino na kakalo ki ai. Oti ai loa te tala o te poloaki ia.

Angaino was a Yato man. Kalou was the friend of Angaino. Angaino had made Te Oi his sweetheart. Angaino said to Kalou, "Go to Te Oi, tell her to come to me here. We shall go to Tua o Wakatiu." Kalou agreed. He went. Kalou was a Ngake man. Kalou went to Te Oi. The two of them went, they

539 went off to the bush, they two copulated.

Angaino waited for her to come. He waited, e-e-e. He waited from the morning, e-e-e, the sun was overhead. He waited from noon, e-e-e-, till evening. Kalou and Te Oi had gone to the bush. Te Oi came to Tupapa, to the wale atua, stayed there. Angaino did not look over there. Finished is the story of that love message.

Of Tutuila

Ko Tutuila ma Yikitia. Ko Yikitia e wawine loa vave. E malulu te wui tane; vave loa i a Yikitia. Yaula i a Tutuila, e yoa no Takatakai. Ko Yikitia, e wawine ke. Yaula i a Tutuila, ya wuna, e kiai na maua i a Yikitia. Timotimo atu i a Tutuila i tona po mua. Pangea e Yikitia. Oti te po ia. Oko ake ki te toe po. Wano oki atu i a Tutuila ki a Yikitia, timotimo atu oki. Pangea oki e Yikitia. Malama loa te po ia. Wano loa la i a Tutuila tangi ki tona yoa, ko Takatakai, "Kalekala E ye maua loa e Yikitia i aku. Ya pange loa i aku ki na konga. Kae au tionga la?"

Kakole la i a Takatakai: "E tai aku tionga. Kaleawua la ki te po nei. Wano loa koe kiai. Wano la pania to kili te pua o te wau. Ke oko koe kiai, ka yongiyongi mai i a Yikitia i to kili. Yongiyongi atu koe i tona kili. Ke wakaulunga mai i a Yikitia i to ulu ki tona lima, wakaulunga oki koe i tona ulu ki to lima. Ke yongi mai i a Yikitia i to kaponga, yongi oki koe, i tona kaponga. Ke kamu mai i a Yikitia i o tuauma, kamu oki koe i ona tuauma. Ke kata mai i a Yikitia ki a koe, kata oki koe kiai. Ko aku tionga ia."

Po ake la te po, wano loa la i a Tutuila ki a Yikitia. Na oti tona kili te pani ki te pua wau. Koa kakala pe te kili o Takatakai. Wakayongi ake i a Yikitia i a Tutuila, koa kakala pe te kili o tana ipo, ko Takatakai. Yongi loa la i a Yikitia i te aloalo o Tutuila. Yongi oki i a Tutuila i te aloalo o Yikitia. Wakaulunga oki i a Yikitia i te ulu o Tutuila ki tona lima. Wakzulunga oki i a Tutuila i te ulu o Yikitia ki tona lima. Otiake. Yongi mai oki i a Yikitia i te iyu o Tutuila. Yongi atu oki i a Tutuila i te iyu o Yikitia. Patu mai oki i a Yikitia i na uma o Tutuila. Patu atu oki i a Tutuila i na uma o Yikitia. Manako loa la i a Yikitia, "Ko Takatakai pe tenei. Ko a maua tionga tenei e wai nei." Koa oti a laua wemilinga ia, lave kawatau atu loa laua.

Malama loa te po. Langona loa la i a Yikitia, "Kalekala pe! Te tangata na yau i te po ki a koe, ko Tutuila." Kamuloa te lili o Yikitia pokelekele. Kae ana konga la yau ai. Ko no i a Tutuila i tawa o Takatakai. E tengia loa i a Yikitia. E konga waingata! Pau ai loa te tala o Tutuila ma Yikitia.

539 Tutuila and Yikitia. Yikitia was a very strong woman. The men were weak, Yikitia was stronger. Next, Tutuila was a friend of Takatakai. Yikitia was a strange woman. Tutuila had desired her, had not succeeded in getting Yikitia. Tutuila went to her in his first night. He was refused by Yikitia. Finished that night. It came to another night. Tutuila went again to Yikitia, to wait for her. Again he was refused by Yikitia. The night became morning. Tutuila went crying to his friend, Takatakai, "What do you think? I can not get Yikitia. She pushed me away to places. Have you no technique for it?"

Takatakai answered, "I have a technique. Wait till night. You go to her. Smear your skin with the scent of the wau (flower). When you get there, Yikitia will repeatedly smell your skin. You smell her skin. When Yikitia makes a headrest for your head with her arm, you make a headrest for her head with your arm. When Yikitia smells your cheek, you smell her cheek too. (11) When Yikitia hits your chest, you hit her chest. When Yikitia laughs at you, you laugh at her. That is my technique."

Night fell. Tutuila went to Yikitia. His skin was finished being smeared with wau scent. It smelled like the skin of Takatakai. Yikitia smelled Tutuila, the skin smelled like the skin of her lover, Takatakai. Yikitia smelled the chest of Tutuila, Tutuila smelled the chest of Yikitia. Yikitia made a headrest for the head of Tutuila with her arm. Tutuila made a headrest for Yikitia with his arm. Finish. Yikitia smelled the nose of Tutuila. Tutuila also smelled the nose of Yikitia. Yikitia hit the chest of Tutuila. Tutuila also hit the chest of Yikitia. Yikitia thought, "This is certainly Takatakai. These are our techniques he performs here." Their feeling of each other being over, they hooked the anchor (copulated).

The night became day. Yikitia heard, "Fancy, indeed the person who came to you in the night was Tutuila." Yikitia's anger was exceedingly black with rage. There was no place for her to come (nothing for her to do about it). Tutuila stayed at the side of Takatakai. Yikitia was disgusted. It was a difficult situation. Finished is the story of Tutuila and Yikitia.

[832] 11. In this story, the Pukapukan word yongi has been roughly translated as "to smell". The yongi is the Pukapukan sign of affection. In greeting or farewell a friend presses his nose against the nose of another, smelling or inhaling as he does so. To show affection for a white friend, the Pukapukan inhales and then presses his nose against the while man's hand. In the intimacies of sexual play the nose may be used to inhale the odor of various parts of the body before being

Of Wekeli

539 The Pukapukan attitude that the man is and should be the
[833] aggressor in initiating sexual experience is clearly brought out in this story of Wekeli where disregard of the pattern gives rise to unmistakable resentment.

Yia was a member of the paternal sublineage Kimuli, part of the larger lineage grouping of Tua. He was fascinated with a woman named Wekeli and arranged a love meeting with her under the cluster of yamuti trees at the point Mata-yauma on the islet of Kotawa. Wekeli carefully prepared for the meeting by bathing and oiling her skin with sweet-scented coconut oil. The lovers met. Wekeli was so pleased with her experience that she became very bold, asking Yia to meet her on another day. Yia was taken aback by this forward attitude and his resentment broke out: "You wretch, you bold person", he replied to Wekeli, "you are never satisfied. Do not come near me again. You have had all you will get. Your words sound bad, so bad that the men of the island, and the women too, would get angry if they knew of them."

Stories of adultery

538 The stories of adultery describe the supernormal or secular
837 punishment for illicit sex relations and are an expression of
762 the cultural patterning of the treatment of such conduct. The story of Tawaia is aberrant however; the narrator is at pains to make the point that the man who was strictly monogamous was something of an exceptional person in the Pukapukan society of the time. A surface disapproval of illicit sex relations is evidently accompanied by the knowledge that the ideal is too difficult to attain. It is clear from the stories that divorce or punishment by supernormal powers is sufficient punishment for adultery. When Te Anga in his anger punished his erring wife with every refinement of sadistic torture, his actions were subjected to general group disapproval, but no one, not even the family of the wife, considered it his duty to interfere between the man and his wife. This story also gives a good example of a person so shamed by some event that the only recourse left to preserve self-respect was suicide. Most of these stories are probably comparatively old. These characters who can be placed on a genealogical table belong to the period immediately after the seismic wave in the reigns of Maina, Tuliayanga, or Tuiva.

[832] 11. (continued) pressed against the flesh. There is no English word or concept into which the Pukapukan word yongi may be adequately translated.

Of Pania

539 Pania was a man of Yalongo lineage. He was in charge of the fishing for the old men's group. One morning he gathered together his crew and put out for the fishing grounds. He was unsuccessful and prayed to the god Te Awuawu to send fish to his trolling lines. Meanwhile his wife had been taken to the bush by a man of another lineage. Pania suspected that trouble at home must be the cause of his bad fortune so he also made other prayers to Te Awuawu in order to nullify the bad effects of possible adultery on the part of his wife.

After these prayers Pania and his men caught many fish. Coming back home, he passed over the reef and left a gift fish (tapu ika) for Te Awuawu on the rock shrine called Te Watu-o-Malaetapu in thanks for the help received from the god during the day. After presenting the fish to the old men at their meeting place Pania went home. He consulted his god about the behavior of his wife and was assured that she had misconducted herself during his absence. With this assurance in mind Pania ordered his wife to leave his house and go back to that of her parents. Thus breaking his first marriage, Pania stayed until daylight with another woman. In this way he contracted a second marriage.

Of Pukiko

Maloatu was a man of Ngake village. Pukiko was his wife. Maloatu suspected that his wife was having an affair with a man named Pania, but whenever he challenged Pukiko she lied to him and professed complete faithfulness to her husband. One day when Maloatu was walking through the reserve of Uta he thought of a plan to test his wife. He sought out his friend Lawuatu, asking him to go to Pukiko with the message that Pania awaited her on the back beach of Yamanaia.

Evening came and the men of the reserve land guard were returning to the village with their hair gaily decorated with flowers. Maloatu hurried to Uta and hid behind a cluster of trees. Soon he saw Pukiko coming. The night was moonless and very dark. As Pukiko came up to his hiding place he came forward and Pukiko, thinking the figure her lover, made to embrace him. Maloatu grasped her tight and then shamed her by throwing her lies in her face.

On the next morning Maloatu spoke to his wife, saying he was going to throw her from his house. Her brother heard of the contemplated divorce. He came to reason and argue with Maloatu. In the end Maloatu decided to take his wife back.

Of Malaetele

539 Yavake was the husband of the woman Malaetele. Tawaia, another man, was in love with her. One morning Tawaia saw Malaetele groping for fish along the reef. Tawaia excused himself from his own house telling his wife that he must go to see who the strange person was trespassing on this part of the reef. When he came up with Maletele, the two walked along the reef to the reserve islet of Kotawa. On this islet the lovers stayed for ten nights and then they walked on to Motu Ko where they stayed together for twenty nights.

At the end of this period Malaetele came back to the village. Now Yavake was an unusual man in that he lived with his wife only, having no affairs with other women. Malaetele walked to her husband's house and climbed on the house platform where she set to with her domestic occupations as if nothing had happened. The maternal sub-lineage of Yavake, however, determined to shame the wife, so they came to Yavake and told the whole story of his wife's adultery. Malaetele from her house platform heard the words. Confident in the power of her hold over her husband's affections, she composed and chanted this insulting song, hurling it with contempt at her interfering relatives by marriage:

From my place above,
I laugh at the words
Of the crabs and the rats.
They are but small fish bait,
Taken from the coral heads of Oka.
Their vulvas smell bad,
They have no success with any man,
Only ghosts come to sleep with them!

Of Lengatu

Lengatu was the wife of Kieilu, warrior-messenger and servant of Maina, supreme chief of the island. Te Pa was the chief of Muliwutu lineage. One day Maina sent Kieilu to gather together the people of the island that they might meet and discuss island affairs. Kieilu announced the meeting at the place Matano, then went on to Loto village and finally made his way to the place called Na Walenamu. Here he stumbled upon Lengatu and Te Pa making love together. Kieilu became incensed at the sight and incapacitated Te Pa by striking him on the fundament. Lengatu helped her lover back to the village. Then she left Kieilu's house and ran to that of her father. Her father was very angry at this method of announcing her divorce from Kieilu. He reasoned with Lengatu stressing the fact that

539 Kieilu was a good food gatherer and a clever craftsman, generous besides and always making gifts to Lengatu's maternal lineage.

Even so, Lengatu refused to return to her husband. She preferred to live with Te Pa and soon this new arrangement was made permanent. The whole island gossiped about the business: "Indeed, Lengatu is without doubt a very cheeky girl, changing and choosey about men. She has left the best man on the island. Let her suffer for it. Let her people not try to bring her and her husband together again. Leave her to find out her own fault that in the end she may return contrite at heart."

Of Kaikiki

Kaikiki was a man of Matanga lineage who committed adultery with Loloko. These two went to the islet of Ko and spent many days there together. Their actions were seen by the gods of the lineage of Poutama, wife of Kaikiki. When Kaikiki returned to his home he became very sick. His spirit was taken by the gods and thrown inside the eight-walled enclosure of the god Te Vayi, a place in the Underworld where a fire burns unceasingly. Kaikiki's skin peeled off with the heat and he would have been burnt had not his wife relented in her sorrow for him. She prayed to her gods to cure his sickness. They returned his spirit to his body. Kaikiki became well again and the people made a chant for him that is remembered to this day. Part of it runs:

I am come to the enclosure of Te Vayi,
I am hot, my skin is burned,
It is cooked. Your sickness it was
That sent me to the back of the sacred skies
Where I am seared by the fire of Te Vayi.

Of Kupenga

Kupenga was the wife of Te Anga. She was a woman sexually dissatisfied by the love-making methods of her husband and every day she would go to other men seeking fulfillment of her sexual urges. It came to another day and she was led by a young man to the back beaches of the island. With him she stayed until the day darkened. Meanwhile she had been spied on by the relatives of Te Anga who came to him saying, "Your wife has cohabited at the place Tua-o-Wakatiu until dark. There she comes crawling back to you, trying to deceive you with lies and flattery that you may not know of her doings."

The heart of Te Anga was filled with jealousy. His jaws

539 trembled, his feet stamped up and down as he waited for Kupenga to return. When she at last came, Te Anga seized her, tore apart her thighs so that her genitals were exposed. He tied one leg to one side of his house, stretched the other leg to the other side and tied her two arms to posts. No part of Kupenga remained covered. The news quickly spread to the whole island and all the people came to watch.

Nothing like this had happened before on Pukapuka. Te Anga stood guard before his wife, armed with a spear and club. Unyielding, he threatened death to any one who dared try untie his wife. The men were frightened of the strength and skill of Te Anga. They cried out against the shame of the punishment and beat their arms against their bodies in helplessness.

Some men and relatives of Kupenga crawled to the noted warrior Kieilu and urged him to untie the woman. At first Kieilu refused to interfere but on further urging he promised to try. As the people and Kupenga's relatives and members of her maternal lineage stood about in shame at this exposed object on whom even the children looked, Kieilu crawled along the ground in abasement and spoke beseeching words to Te Anga, addressing him as a god, praying him to give way to popular feeling and make gentle his heart against his wife. Finally Te Anga relented. He told the people to untie his wife. They untied her and straightened her stiffened limbs made tight by a day's tying. But Kupenga was ashamed at this exposure. During the night she fastened an anchor rope round her neck and strangled herself. The whole island was disgusted with Te Anga and his punishment.

Stories of Theft and Homicide

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The next group of stories is concerned with punishment for two offenses; stealing and homicide. The first story, that of Kaivai (Rascals) of Longolongo, tells of a group of men who set out systematically to rob their more slow-witted village friends. The events narrated in the story took place during the reign of Maina, after the seismic wave, and the excuse for their conduct--given in another record--is that in times of food scarcity it is no crime for a hungry man to steal the wherewithal to satisfy his hunger. The men were not physically punished because it was not the policy of Maina to put any man to death for anti-social behavior. When the men of the group died, however, they were all buried, regardless of their lineage memberships, in a common grave near the cemetery of Muliwutu, this disgrace being sufficient
538 punishment for the offense. The story incidentally provides an excellent account of the duties of the guard in control of the

538 reserves, and of the type of food divisions made among the villagers from the reserve food supplies.

The Rascals of Longolongo

539 Wuina, a man of Loto village, gathered about him a gang of thieves from all the villages. The villages arranged their plans for going to reserves to gather food. Ngake village sent the members of the reserve land guard to announce the going to Motu Ko. Each man and woman was to be allowed five dried nuts, each child four nuts. Each person was to be allowed two drinking nuts and two uto nuts. Each canoe was allowed three baskets of Pandanus fruit.

When the Rascals heard this announcement, they secretly went by night to Motu Ko, loaded their canoes with stolen food and returned to their houses undiscovered. Again the village of Yato announced its visit to its reserve of Motu Kotawa. Again the Rascals made a secret visit to the reserve and came back with much food. The same thing happened when Loto village went to its reserve called Uta.

At a later time, the people of Yato dug up all the taro from the village beds at the back of the island. In the evening the Rascals stole all this food. A second time this happened and Yato village set a guard round their reserves. Again the thieves came to steal taro, but this time the men of Yato made a close ring round the gardens, each guard clasping the arm of the guard next him. Wuina saw that he was surrounded. He looked at the ring carefully and saw a place where only weak men were standing. With his gang solidly behind him Wuina rushed to this place and burst through it. The gang ran back to Ngake village, to the safety of their houses, closely pursued by Yato men. Wuina waited until his enemies were close, then he tore out one of the posts of his house. Using this as a weapon and supported by the expert skill of his father, Ngingi, a noted warrior, these two men so intimidated the Yato guards that they hurried helter-skelter to their own village. Even so the gang of Rascals realized their narrow escape and ended their tricks thereafter.

Kape and Wuina

[627] The tale of Wuina of Yayake is a simple account of stealing and revenge. Another version of this story relates that Wuina had previously attempted to steal nuts from the storehouse of Malamatia. Malamatia had surprised him, but Wuina had split open his head with and adz and Malamatia died from the injuries received. Hence the desire of Malamatia's brother for revenge.

539 Kape's brother, Malamatia, had been killed by the thief Wuina. Kape decided to avenge (literally, "prepared the ovens") his brother's death and searched for a method by which Wuina would die. This was the temptation: Kape went to dig a basket of taro which he carried very ostentatiously past the place where Wuina was sitting and so on to a very distant place where no land shells made a sound. Coming to where a coconut leaf drooped down to touch the coral, Kape dug a hole beneath the leaf of such a depth that the buttocks of Wuina would stand above the hole. Kape buried the taro and went off to prepare his spear.

Wuina had followed Kape to the place and watched him leave. Then he ran with joy to the hole and began to dig up the sand to get at the taro. Meanwhile, armed with his spear, Kape crept quietly back. The noise of his movements was covered by the swishing of the coconut leaf against the coral and besides Wuina was intent on his digging. Wuina was reaching down to the taro and his buttocks were upward. Kape drove his spear into Wuina with such force that the point came out of Wuina's mouth. Wuina died and this verse recalls the incident:

Like the story of Kape in Yayake,
And the taro hole where he speared Wuina,
The hole he placed below the coconut leaf,
It was Kape's revenge for Malamatia
For Wuina, the thief, had often troubled us.

Vakayala

538 The tale of Vakayala is reminiscent of the story of Papalangi
579 (see pages 46-47) which also has as its motive the running
627 amok of a man shamed or punished by the community for anti-social conduct. It is noteworthy that in both stories the individual expressed his anger against the community by the purposeless killing of the first helpless children he met when fleeing from the place of his shame. Papalangi was
[539]further punished for manslaughter by drowning, Vakayala by being whipped to death. An alternate account of Vakayala's death adds a refinement of torture to his punishment when it states that the father of the slain children heated two large stones in the oven and applied them to Vakayala's testicles, which finally "exploded." The variant account also states that Vakayala was never buried but that his disintegrated body was allowed to drift in the lagoon with the tide so that everyone might curse it; in the end there was nothing left of the body save two gleaming eyes which the people saw when they went to the beach at night to curse Vakayala.

Of Vakayala

539 Vakayala was a man of Matanga lineage, of the sub-lineage Yeumamao. Together with the other people of Ngake village he went to the reserve of Motu Ko to gather and husk fallen coconuts. All the people had been warned against taking drinking coconuts.

Vakayala went to the middle of the reserve, opened a drinking nut and later cracked the shell to eat the flesh. In the quietness of the bush this was heard by the other men and they ran to him seeking to hold him for having broken the tapu of the reserve. Vakayala escaped them and ran back to Wale along the eastern reef. At the place called Utupoa he came upon the two children of Palaoa playing while their father worked close by clearing a reef channel of coral rocks. In his madness Vakayala struck down the two children and killed them. Rushing further he came to the two children of Te Kula playing by their house. These children also Vakayala killed.

The whole island was enraged by these purposeless killings. Vakayala was caught and it was decided that he be whipped to death. He was dragged to the meeting around and then the men of each lineage whipped him in turn. His skin swelled, became raw, only flesh remained, then his veins stood out and soon bones were visible. When all the lineages had finished, Vakayala was dragged to the beach and thrown into the sea, drifting back and forth as wind and tide carried him. At night his maternal lineage came secretly to the beach, gathered the body in a mat and buried him in a hole dug by the sacred worshipping house of Yeumamao. When morning came the people went to look for the body in the sea but none could find it and none knew its whereabouts. This is well for had his maternal lineage been discovered, all the men of this lineage would have been whipped. The island had decreed death for Vakayala and none might interfere without punishment by the island.

Of Kaleva-motu

539 The following story relates to incidents occurring about the
627 time of the high chief Alatakupu. Kaleva-motu was the warrior-
762 servant of this bloodthirsty and vicious chief and it is likely
that Kaleva-motu had killed the father of Te Vana under orders of the chief. Nevertheless, Te Vana sought revenge. It may be noted that his honor was satisfied when he inflicted severe wounds on Kaleva-motu whose suicide was forced on him by the men of the island because he had violated the tapu associated with the resting place of the high chiefs of the island.

539 Wekao had been killed by Kaleva-motu, and his son, Te Vana, sought revenge. Because Kaleva-motu was a strong man and a noted warrior there was no way to kill him openly. Therefore Te Vana sought a stratagem and planned the killing while Kaleva-motu was engaged in fishing. Kaleva-motu, Te Vana and their friends decided to net kaloma fish. They netted on many beaches and then prepared to divide the fish into shares. The shares were placed on the beach and each came to take his fish. Kaleva-motu's name was called but he saw a coconut wood spear hidden close by. He ran instead of coming and Te Vana chased him. Kaleva-motu was swift-footed inland, Te Vana swift-footed on the beaches. Just as Te Vana came up to his enemy, Kaleva-motu jumped into the sea. Te Vana hurled his spear and saw it strike Kaleva-motu in the middle of the back. It was dusk and Te Vana assumed he had killed the enemy. But Kaleva-motu pulled out the spear and then swam quietly with only his nostrils above water to a lonely beach.

He made his way back to Wale. There was only one place where he would be unmolested and that was the sacred resting place of the high chiefs. None would come near this place. Kaleva-motu hid here and some of his relatives came in secret to treat his spear wound. Soon Kaleva-motu was well again, but it became known that he was violating the tapu of the high chiefs. The men came to kill him. Kaleva-motu asked that he be allowed to commit suicide. The men dug a deep grave for him and led him to the hole. His maternal relatives stood around the hole that he might not play tricks and seek to escape. This was their duty after the island decided to punish. They placed Kaleva-motu inside the hole and buried him alive.

Of Uila and Palakula

Uila was the son of the high chief Tuliayanga. On many occasions he whipped the children of Palakula and Kutikuti, his wife. The children went crying to their mother, complaining of the cruelty of Uila, "Have we no father to protect us, why does he not stop our pain?" Kutikuti could only reply to that that no help could come from their father and that they were children indeed conceived by the weakest of semen.

Palakula happened to overhear these remarks and he was spurred to action, even though Uila was the son of the high chief. He went to Uila and questioned him. Uila became angry and jabbed his finger into Palakula's eye. Then while Uila gouged out his eye Palakula gripped his tormentor by the testicles and tore them from his body. Uila died.

The people of the island surmised that the whole maternal

539 lineage of Palakula would be wiped out collectively in punishment for this death. The high chief came for his revenge. He insisted on death or exile. Palakula and his lineage chose exile. They prepared their double canoes, bequeathed their properties to groups that remained and sailed to the Matoyia ocean. None has heard of them since and they were all eaten by sharks it is thought.

The making of culture heroes

538
773 The following group of stories defies any simple classification. The first story recounts the testing of the chief Tuliayanga by the gods.

Of Tuliayanga

539 The gods were annoyed with Tuliayanga's boasts of his prowess as a netter of flying fish and decided to put his powers to the test. Tuliayanga went fishing one night with a fleet of flying fish canoes. The gods arranged for one flying fish (malolo) to fly straight through the air to the chief's eye, while another fish was to go through the air, aiming directly for his testicles. The gods thought that if the chief was not so skilled with the use of the net as he thought, he would be confused by the two fish and suffer serious injury through failure to net them. When the canoes were over the flying fish shoal, the two fish flew through the air in the direction of Tuliayanga. Many men tried to net them but failed. The chief was quicker than the others and with a double sweep of his net caught both fish before they touched him. The gods then conceded he had a right to boast of his skill.

Pakula

The story of Pakula illustrates the dangers besetting the bonito fishing canoe. Pakula lived five generations after the [81] seismic wave. An interesting example of cultural psychology is the first remark of Pakula on escaping death and safely landing on Motu Kotawa. The implication clearly is, now we have been saved from death, we can get back to the real business of living once more.

Pakula was a man of Matanga lineage. He was charged with fishing for the group of old men. He and his crew went fishing one day. Coming back to the reef the waves were breaking so furiously that his crew were afraid to attempt the passage. Pakula poked fun at their fears and the canoe was sent whirling onward. Overtaken by a wave, the canoe was smashed and the men thrown into the water. Then was the time for the crew to taunt Pakula for his rashness.

The men were afraid of being eaten by sharks but Pakula calmed them and handed to each his death gift of a bonito hook that none might die alone. (12) Four men swam to Motu Kotawa but Pakula and Patutua drifted for two nights at sea. Finally they were seen by their god Ngaliyeyeu who pulled them towards Motu Kotawa. They stood on the shore and Pakula boasted: "Now to copulate with the vagina! " For three nights these two stayed on the reserve, eating to regain their strength. Then they returned to Wale where their lineage made a big feast for them that they might be fat enough to stand outside their houses as before, shamed by no one.

Of Malangatiale

[538] The story of Malangatiale and Wenuku is a popular Pukapukan tale. These two men were members of the same birth class and of the fishing group (*tanganga*) which fished each day for the old men's group. The account below relates that Malangatiale was punished for assuming status above the leader of his birth class. Another version states the quarrel arose over the catching of turtles because Malangatiale disobeyed his leader and caught the easy female turtle, leaving his friend the dangerous male turtle.

Malangatiale and Wenuku were born in the same year but Wenuku was the first-born of their common birth class. Each was the captain of a canoe fishing for the old men. One day both canoes went to sea, Malangatiale going to the west, Wenuku to the east. The canoes met again opposite the place called Tua-o-te-mumu. Here they saw turtles and caught a pair. Malangatiale and Wenuku quarrelled with each other each insisting that the turtles be loaded on his own canoe, though Wenuku, being the senior born had the right to command, and Malangatiale was boldly setting himself ahead of

[766] 12. One of the responsibilities of the captain of a deep sea fishing canoe is that of providing for each of his crew a death gift, should the lives of the crew be endangered by the canoe's capsizing or wreckage. Just as on land, no funeral wake is complete without the presentation of friendly gifts to the corpse, gifts which were formerly buried with the body, so in case of death at sea, this is made more bearable by the thought that none will die without his death gift.

539 his older friend. Suddenly a flash of lightning came and Malangatiale was struck dead. (13)

When the crews recovered from their fright they laid out Malangatiale nicely on his canoe and chanted their way over the eastern sea to Motu Ko. Here they gathered floral decorations of plants, ferns and creepers, wrapping Malangatiale in the greenery. They made smooth a place on the outrigger booms and laid the dead body down. Launching the canoes once more the crews chanted their way back to the reef passage and through the lagoon channels. Their bow-men stood and flashed their wet paddles in the sunlight. The people on shore watched intently, wondering and waiting. Then when the canoes, dark with greenery, were beached, the landshells buzzed with the news. The people were told of the sin of quarreling for which Malangatiale died. They took his body and buried him in the cemetery of his paternal lineage.

Kui and his Heirs

538
773 The stories of Kui, Uyo, Waletiale, and Te Wai are connected in that Kui is supposed to be the progenitor whether spiritual or physical is not clear--of the other three semiculture heroes. It was Kui who performed the test of lifting all the leaves from the prone body of the chief Kamola [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 240-242, category 773 or 116--analyst.] His feat demonstrated that he was a man of supernormal powers who should therefore be exiled from the atoll. Accordingly he was asked to build a canoe and sail away to the western horizon. The story of his further adventures follows:

539 Kui left Pukapuka in a single outrigger canoe with his two sons, Matiku-uli (Black-heron) and Matiku-kena (White-heron). The three sailed westward over the wide ocean for a long time, for so long that the outrigger rotted from being so long in the sea and separated from the crossbooms. The canoe capsized. The three were thrown into the water, but Kui took the boom and the mast, lashed the sail vertically to his left shoulder, and the mast vertically to his right shoulder. Matiku-uli perched on the right-shoulder mast, and Matiku-kena perched on the left shoulder as Kui swam. He swam for so long that Matiku-uli died of thirst and hunger. Kui embraced the boy and let him fall into the sea. Kui kept on swimming.

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13. Malangatiale later became an ancestor god by the mechanism noted in [1:]Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 313-314, category 116--analyst].

539 Later his other son also died. Kui embraced him too and dropped him into the water.

Kui swam on. His wake was like the sea breaking on the reef, so powerful and fast a swimmer was he. He was in the water so long that coral rocks, barnacles, and seaweeds grew over his body, starting first on his legs, spreading up his body, and finally covering his head. He finally became so heavy that he dropped to the bottom of the sea. He was rolled along on the bottom of the ocean, until at last he was thrown up on the reef at Apia in Samoa. Though he looked like a big piece of coral, a living and breathing body was within.

The people of Samoa were at this time preparing for a great feast, and all the ovens were full of food. Kui rested until sunset. Then he awoke and decided to go ashore from the reef. He was too heavy to walk, so he rolled himself along. When he got to land, he visited all the ovens in turn, stealing food from each while the people slept. People came along and found the ovens tampered with, but all they saw was a coral stone lying by and, of course, they took no notice of this. From day to day Kui visited the ovens, stealing food regularly. One day a young girl came along the reef looking for fish. She noticed a big rock on the reef and, looking closer, saw that the rock was swelling in gentle movements, as if breathing. Sure of this, she went ashore and raised the alarm: "Yamoa e, teia la te kata ya wuke a tatou umu" (People of Samoa, this is the brute that has opened our ovens). The people gathered on the reef. They saw the breathing stone and carried it to the meeting place where they discussed what to do with it. They decided to build a big oven. The people gathered wood, coconut husks, and the like for the fire. When the huge oven was heated, they threw Kui in. As the coral got hot it melted from Kui's body, dropped off; thus Kui himself was exposed to the heat and died. His soul left his body and went about Samoa killing many Samoans in revenge for his death. Then his soul went back to Pukapuka. Kui landed on the reef off the reserve of Niua. He was met by the god Te Mangamanga, who tried to turn him back to the sea. But Kui wrestled with Te Mangamanga and threw him on a sea urchin so that Te Mangamanga admitted defeat. Then Kui went through the villages challenging all the other gods to wrestle with him. He passed by the place Lowia, in Uta, in the form of a blazing fire. When the gods who were gathered there saw him, they were afraid and threw over themselves a net of invisibility. Kui passed on to the place where Te Auta-pule lived. The two gods wrestled and again

539 Kui was victorious. At the place Te Longalau, Kui met the god Malangatiale. (14)

Kui was in the form of a blazing fire, Malangatiale in the form of lightning. Kui called out, "Awi! " (fire), and Malangatiale shouted the same word in reply. Kui called out, "Ula! " (red), and again Malangatiale repeated the same word. Kui called out, "Awu! " (hot), and Malangatiale repeated the word. At every interchange each god flashed like lightning or blazed like fire in order to intimidate his opponent. They continued: Kui called out "Punga" (coral or meteor), and Malangatiale repeated the word. Then the two gods imitated the sounds of the *tuli* bird and the *kawe*, sea bird. At last they were close enough to grapple with each other. Three times they struggled back and forward between taro beds and lagoon beach, but neither was strong enough to conquer the other. At length they decided to become friends. It is said that their spirit was in every strong human being born in Pukapuka thereafter. Such a man was said to have *na vave a Kui* (the strengths of Kui). Kui became a god of *Yangalipule*, a lineage which produced many strong men.

Besides the three men of the stories below, the chief Kuluea also derived supernatural powers from Kui [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 381-383, category 539 or 116--analyst].

Uyo was a warrior. He gathered together a group of men and persuaded them to go with him to Motu Kotawa to live. Though Kotawa was sacred to Mataliki, Uyo trusted in his powers to save him from the dangers of breaking the tapu, and he knew his strength would save him from mortal danger. One of his followers was Te Pou.

On going across to the island, Uyo sent his followers to walk round by way of the connecting reef while he went on his own way. Uyo was a great jumper. Going by the reef he saw a shoal of fish in the lagoon. Taking his great seine net (*kupenga uka yali lawi*) 50 yards long, in his hands, he jumped from the reef onto the shoal of fish and caught many. Then he jumped from the eastern to the western reef across the lagoon, carrying his net and the fish as well. Arriving thus at

14. The god Malangatiale with whom Kui fought this drawn contest is the same individual whose accidental death is mentioned in the previous story.

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539 Kotawa, he made a fire by rubbing his finger on a piece of puapua wood, built an oven, and put the fish on to cook. To get some nuts, he took a tree in his hand, shook it, and the nuts fell to the ground. Those nuts that hit his head broke in two. He husked the nuts by using his finger for a husking stick. Much later his men arrived on Kotawa, hungry after their walk around over the reef. The men decided to get food, but Uyo told them that the food was already cooked and opened the oven for them. For many days Uyo and his men lived thus on Kotawa, fishing and eating the nuts until, at last, the people on Wale became angry at the loss of so much food. They went to Kuluea, the chief, and asked him to repair matters. Kuluea consulted his god.

Now, Te Pou on Kotawa was a man possessed with the power of double sight. While on Kotawa he could see with his inner eye all that was happening on Wale, and, as if in a dream state, Te Pou told his friends on Kotawa all that he saw: Kuluea consulting his gods, the meetings of the people, men preparing their war malo, preparing canoes, and getting ready to fight. But his friends refused to take notice of Te Pou, saying he was having a nightmare and laughing at him. Still Te Pou talked in his vision, saying the people were leaving Wale, mentioning all the places in the lagoon that the canoes were passing in turn, and saying at last that the people had come to the landing place at Kotawa. But the men paid no attention to him and went on with their eating and sleeping. At last the people of Wale landed and, shouting "Manava Pukapuka i---, a---", as their canoes touched the beach, rushed forward. Te Pou then said to his friends, "I have warned you of this but you have believed me not." In fact, Kuluea had prayed to Taua, and Taua had made the man crazy (wakavavale or neneva).

A fight occurred. Two men of Wale were killed as they rushed after the Kotawa men, both Wale men having their skulls shattered by being knocked against coconut trees by the fingers of the superman. But all the Kotawa men were killed, all save Te Pou, who was reckoned a good man who had gone with the others to Kotawa against his will. Te Pou would collect the husks of nuts and cover them in the ground while the others would throw theirs carelessly on the ground. Therefore his life was spared. Uyo was killed thus: the men of Wale came up to him and found him paralyzed in body by the gods. But even so, all the men of Wale, even Kuluea, held back from him in fear of his supernormal strength. But Kuluea summoned courage, went up to Uyo, and thrust at him

539 with his spear. The spear rebounded from the tough skin without making a dint in it. Kuluea hit him on his head with a club, but Uyo blinked not even an eyelid, and the club was shattered in Kuluea's hands. Kuluea took an especially strong spear and thrust it through Uyo's eyeball, but the eyelids closing broke the spear off short and still Uyo was unhurt. Then Uyo, in his god-made craziness, spoke, "It is impossible to kill me by ordinary means. But if you lift up my arms, you will find in my armpit a big boil ready to burst." The men did this, and through the boil, also sent by Taua, Kuluea thrust his spear which penetrated to a vital part and killed Uyo. Then the men, curious as to Uyo's powers, opened his body and found there, instead of two livers (ate), eight livers; and to this abnormality is attributed his great jumping powers. Uyo was buried on Kotawa, and even to this day is seen the imprint in the rock, called Te Vae-o-Uyo, where one foot of Uyo landed after his jump from reef to reef. All the men went back to Wale, taking Te Pou with them. Later on when Kuluea had to face the danger of the Tongalelevan invasion, he said, "I am sorry I had to kill my comrade. His help is sorely needed at the present time to fight these giant people."

Waletiale, the second of the warriors with the strength of Kui, was a man of gigantic stature, who decided to start in Pukapuka a copulation group on the Yayake model.

Waletiale was a man so strong that he was like the supports of the island. He gathered about him a group of tall, handsome men at the place called Te Nau-o-te-tupua. When the women merely came to their sides, their penises stood erect and ripped off their malos. Waletiale announced the formation of his group to the women and invited them to visit him frequently. The women came first by pairs, then in a stampede. Some disliked, others were pleased by, the strength and vigor of the men. The single and the married women all went to Waletiale, so that the houses were deserted. The married women were particularly thrilled and their husbands saw them no more.

For many months their husbands waited. Their penises were yellow as slime from masturbating. They wilted with unsatisfied desire. As long as Waletiale stood guard over his meeting place the men were afraid to venture near in case they might be killed. They went to complain to the high chief of the island, to Kuluea. Kuluea was indifferent at first, being also afraid of Waletiale, but later he consented to pray to his goddess Taua, asking her advice in the matter. This was his invocation to Taua: "O Taua, press the bones of Waletiale

539 and his men so that they are weak. Pierce their minds with your power so that they are unconscious, so that they are stupified, so that their eyes can only stare! "

Taua gave a favorable answer to this petition so Kuluea and the men dug two deep holes close to Waletiale's place and stuck in each of the holes a long husking stick. They went to Waletiale and his men. Their eyes could only stare and they were stupified, flopping about like fish full of roe. Beginning with Waletiale, Kuluea picked up the men one by one and transfixed them on the point of the husking sticks. When one hole was full of speared men, Kuluea started with the other hole. When both were full, sand was thrown on top and thus the group of Waletiale was finished.

The last story of an heir of Kui concerns a quarrel between two paternal lineages of the village of Loto over the division of turtle meat.

Yangalipule and Tua are the two lineages of Loto. Tua went fishing bonito, Yangalipule went to catch turtle. In the subsequent division of food, men of Tua received no turtle flesh because men of Yangalipule ate all the flesh in secret. Tua decided to kill the men of the other lineage for this stinginess. One group of men they buried alive.

Now one Yangalipule man named Te Wai was a skilled diver and underwater swimmer. He was a specialist in catching turtles. The many men caught Te Wai and buried him at the bottom of a deep hole. On the third night Tua men were amazed to find Te Wai appear from the hole. They caught him again, wrapped him in a mat, tied him tight with an anchor rope to which was fastened a heavy rock, and then dropped him far out to sea.

On the fourth night, Tua men were again amazed to hear Te Wai shouting that he was not dead. This time, to make sure, Tua strangled him by fastening a rope round his neck and not burying him until they were sure he was dead.

Now the reason that Te Wai was hard to kill was because he shared the strength of Kui. Thus he had a long wind. Just as Kui lived below the water for a long time when he was turned into a piece of coral, so could Te Wai live when buried under the earth or sunk under the sea. The strength of Kui, man of Yangalipule, was passed on to other men of this same lineage.

Stories about food

538 Two stories center about food. They are of interest because they help to explain a popular saying about a person dissatisfied with his share in a food division and also because they mention

538 still more islands of the western Pacific with which Pukapukans were familiar.

The first story is about the chief of Yayake, Tuyiyauola, whose power to fascinate women from afar has already been noted [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 381, category 539 or 116--analyst].

539 Yele was the daughter of the chief of the land of Uea (Uvea?). Tuyiyauola fell in love with her and sent one of his pet whales to Uea to fetch her back to Yayake. The whale arrived at Uea, and Yele and all her attendants embarked on its back. Going to Yayake from Uea, the whale had to pass by Pukapuka. It did not stop at Pukapuka, but a man named Nalewu, who was guard on Ko, saw the whale going with all the people on it, and was so surprised that he swam out to find out all about them. He joined the party and never came back to Pukapuka. At some islands on the voyage the whale stopped and the people went ashore, but so many were they that they soon ate up all the food. Even though they cut pieces off the back of the whale to eat, Yele was never satisfied but was always complaining and asking for more food. She was kaitangi, never satisfied with her share of food, whether whale flesh or vegetable food. Hence the saying to a person who is dissatisfied: "Wano koe au mai te kaitangi no Yele" (Go and get the food share of Yele); the implication being that even if the greedy one had as big food shares as Yele, he would still be dissatisfied.

The final story is a short account of the travels around the western Pacific of a canoe called Te Takapau of the Moyoaliki. Nothing is known about the canoe crew, except that they wished to sample the foods of the other islands of the ocean. The only island where they were unable to eat up all the food was Uea.

The crew of the canoe called Te Takapau-a-te-moyoaliki sailed to Tokelau islands, to the Alolai group, to Samoa and next to Witi. At each of these places they accepted welcome and stayed to eat the food provided them. So hungry were the crew, however, that they ate until the ground stood bare. When the people of Witi searched for their food, they found it had all been stolen and eaten by the Pukapukans. So angry were they that the frightened crew sailed off in great hurry. At last they came to the island of Uea. Here they landed and began to eat. But so plentiful was the food in this place that they could not come to the end of it no matter how much they stuffed themselves. Like the whale of the Yayake chief Tuyiyauola which was always the same no matter how much

539 flesh was cut from it for food, the land of Uea had food supplies that increased with its eating. The crew composed this chant about Uea which is remembered to this day:

Uea is a land of food,
We stayed there, as in other islands,
Persistent to the last like Lua-tulivae. (15)
Stayed there we of the canoe Te Takapau-o-
  te-Moyoaliki,
We could not finish the food of Uea!

Stories of Voyaging

538
181 The life of the Pukapukan is inevitably bound up with the sea. It surrounds him at all times. From it he draws much of his food. Over it he gained a measure of control in former times by the worshipping of his gods. On it he voyaged to many distant islands. It is just as inevitable therefore that stories telling of the adventures of voyaging Pukapukans should be popular, especially if they have a humorous appeal.

Of Welei

The account of this voyage is both improbable and characteristically very human according to Pukapukan standards. It was told in all seriousness by informants in sessions devoted to traditional and historical accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka.

539 Welei was a man of Yato village. His chief activity was the nightly seeking of women. But the women rejected his advances. When he moved to their sides they spat on him and kicked him away. Welei was also a priest, and his god was ashamed that his worshipper was treated thus. The god told Welei that if he persisted in his desire for women then he should climb into the god's coconut leaflet canoe. Welei did this and was transported to Nuku-mautole (Island-of-many-vulvas).

This land was inhabited by women only. The foot of Welei had hardly stepped on shore when the women rushed for him. They piled on top of him, five women on each foot, then women on each finger, eight each on his nose and ears and

15. The reference to Lua-tulivae in this chant is somewhat obscure. The story of Lua-tulivae is given earlier. As this individual persistently made his way through all of nine fires before he was safely dead, so apparently did the crew of this canoe show stubborn determination in their attack on the food supplies of the island.

539 lower back. His skin was smeared by their vulvas. They covered his nostrils. Welei stank. He could not tolerate the smell of vulvas. His god taunted him that his desire for women had subsided. Then the women chased him away, but because his nostrils were still blocked he soon died. His god was quite indifferent to his fate. "The child has got what he deserved", he said, and that was the end of Welei. They made this bit of verse about him:

Crowded below like Welei,
Stepped on by the many,
Stepped on by the thousand,
Crowded on top by the women
Who bite the good of man!

Of Yawau

Yawau was a man of Yamaunga lineage. This lineage went one night to fish Ruvettus. Ten fish were caught and brought back to the meeting place for division, which was close to the sacred worshipping house of the lineage. The priests in this house received their share, Yawau among them. Sitting on his sacred seat within the house, Yawau finished completely the tail portion of his fish.

Then Yawau went on with his chanting to the gods. There was a stirring through his back and frequent flatulence. Unawares, he suddenly began to excrete the fat of the fish. The priests behind poked him in the back and drew attention to the fact that his seat was dirty. At first he thought his friends were joking, then he was dumbfounded, ashamed.

A personal shame developed for Yawau. He was continually being teased by the children. He could stand the thrusts no more and prepared his voyaging canoes. He reached first the Tokelau islands, but when he landed the people greeted him with his shame. Again in Samoa, in the islands of Witi, in all the islands to the south, people knew his reputation. At last Yawau came to Kapiti-te-wue. The people did not know of him and his scandal was lost. Yawau rested here happily, married, and raised a family.

Of Wue

Wue was both chief of Yangalipule lineage and supreme chief of the island. He planned to sail to all the islands of the east and then to all the islands of the west. He built and provisioned his double canoe, gathered together the men of his lineage and his two sons and set forth. First he visited

539 Manihiki, then he went on to Rakahanga. At this place the people were playing at swings. Wue was contemptuous of the game, saying that in Pukapuka only children played with swings. In the evening the people left their swings hanging from the trees. Wue came secretly by night, cut down the swings, placed them in his canoe and sailed away with his treasure. At the next island the people were playing jackstones with Conus shells. Again the people were fooled by Wue's words when he said that only Pukapukan children played such games. As before, Wue gather the shells when the people went to sleep and sailed away.

At other islands and by similar tricks, Wue learned the game of juggling with immature coconuts, various hopping and kicking games. In Yiva and Yake Wue managed to cut the anchor ropes of fishing canoes deserted when a squall interrupted a fishing contest and thus stole long lengths of rope. On the island of Wakalava, the people were playing the game of disc-throwing (tupe). By a trick Wue learned the game, then stole away with all the discs used in the game. On the island of Yavake Wue visited the famous copulating places of which people who had gone before had told him. The Yayake men were proud of these institutions but Wue remarked that they were but mediocre compared with the copulating clubs of Pukapuka. In the island of Motulau the people possesed a feather which turned the whole body red if placed in the mouth. Wue desired this feather to take home but no matter what his words, the people were unimpressed and would not allow Wue to lay hands on the precious object.

Wue sailed to the islands to the southwest. He visited Tonga, Samoa, Witi, Witi-lewu, Witi-lelelele. On this last island he left one of his sons to settle. Wue was overwhelmed by the number of islands in the west. He could not visit them all so many were there. He returned through the Tokelau islands and arrived again at Pukapuka. He told of his journey, of the people, of their doings and the games he brought back with him.

Additional material on these voyages of Wue is found in variant accounts. It is related that the islands of Yiva and Yake were close together. They were separated by a narrow channel so that a fishing canoe might throw one anchor on one island and another anchor on the other island, thus remaining securely anchored in mid-channel. A fishing contest was in progress when Wue arrived, and Wue anchored close to the fishing fleet watching the people enjoy themselves at swimming, diving, and playing in the water of the channel after the fishing

539 was finished for the day. When the strong wind broke up the fishing fleet, Wue was better able to ride out the storm in his big canoe, and he profited by the dispersal of the other canoes to take with him as he sailed out to sea, all the fish and anchor lines that the Yiva people left behind them.

A man named Vailaki, whom Wue met on Wakalava, is remembered as a Samoan who built a plank canoe from a single large wetau tree. He sailed to many islands from Samoa, exhibiting his canoe to the people, and came on to Pukapuka from Wakalava. When he left to go back to Samoa, one of his crew, a man named Pokena, decided to stay on Pukapuka. Vailaki sailed without him, but Pokena soon died on Pukapuka without leaving issue.

Little more is known of the magical red feather that Wue saw on the islands of Motulau, said to be a group of many islands close together. When the feather was put in the mouth it turned the whole body a deep rich red color; when the feather was removed the body turned brown again. Wue asked three times for this feather, but the people of Motulau valued it too highly to allow him to take it. Wue evidently could think of no stratagem this time so he had to leave, bringing back to Pukapuka only a memory of the tantalizing feather.

Te Palo comes to Pukapuka

Te Palo, the Yayake warrior who fought with Te Nana, visited Pukapuka on a journey from Yayake which also led him to stop at Nassau Island. (16)

Te Palo's journey from Yayake to Nassau and Pukapuka was a journey of woman-seeking. He arrived on Wale in the middle of the night, quietly beached his canoe and then went in secret to scratch the women in all the houses. By daylight he was afloat again and drifted down to Nassau. Three times he came thus to Wale.

The married men soon began to notice that their wives were scratched and striped on the cheeks and breasts. They began to inquire one of the other as to the reason for this. At last some of the women whose cheeks were not scratched, being jealous of the good fortune of the married women, told of the night-visiting canoe. During the night the men waited and spied on the visiting Te Palo. Te Palo was seized and angrily charged with being the cause of the scratching. Quite unabashed

16. The atoll of Nassau is 42 miles southeast of Pukapuka.

539 Te Palo answered, "There is nothing to it. My comings were only comings to scratch your women who are so nicely established with you men here. Are you going to get angry over a mere nothing?" Under this calm reasoning, the ideas that had angered the men subsided.

Te Palo remained on Wale for one day. For his journey back to Nassau the island prepared two huge taro puddings. The voyager set sail and almost immediately opened his smoking hot puddings to eat. So great, however, was the speed of his canoe that he arrived in Nassau before the puddings had sufficiently cooled to taste. Similarly on a return trip from Nassau to Wale, Te Palo's wife who was with him in the canoe, arose from her seat to watch the waters curling past the bow. She overbalanced and fell into the sea. Te Palo made a grab at her but she was already far out of reach so fast was the canoe.

During this visit to Pukapuka Te Palo took the opportunity to inspect the land. He was greatly impressed with the quantity and size of the taro growing in the reserve of Uta. His words of praise are remembered to this day: "To look at this place here makes me realize that the taro beds of Yayake are only big enough to be devoured by the small plover bird!

During all this journeying, Te Palo's sail had become torn to bits by the heavy winds. He laid it out at the place called Pingalu behing Ngake village and set to work to sew the rent places. One of his sailors brought him his favorite needle, made from the bone of the man-eater Malele, killed by Te Palo in Yayake. Unmindful of the fact that the use of human bone for any purpose was tapu on Pukapuka and that the breaking of this tapu would be punished by the goddes Taua, Te Palo went ahead with his task. Soon he felt his arm paining him, then he realized that there was a tumor growing in his armpit. This was the punishment sent by Taua. Te Palo immediately sailed away from Pukapuka, back to his homeland of Yayake.

Of The Tini

Another legend of the contact between Nassau and Pukapuka concerns the activities of a group of Pukapukan people called The Tini:

The Tini were a group of people from the three villages of Pukapuka who used to go frequently to Nassau, spending their time on this island at fishing and playing at water sports. The group would fish for flying fish at night and then spend

539 the day diving and swimming in the reef channel.

Arriving one day at Nassau, The Tini found the reef channel blocked with a heavy rock placed there by the gods. The men tried to move this rock because it made the passage over the reef one of considerable danger. They were unable to budge it so they suggested that Kuialaloa, a Ngake man, son of Tautuna, should try his strength. Kuialaloa dived, struck the rock with his foot. The stone slid to the side of the channel. On a later day The Tini returned to Nassau to find the stone back in the channel and again Kuialaloa moved it with ease.(17)

During the excitement of the water sports played on this occasion, The Tini noticed that one of their company, a man named Te Ie, was missing. The men dived and searched under water until they found the body. They brought it to land and prepared a large double canoe with a huge sail in which they wished to transport the body of Te Ie back to Pukapuka for burial. The sail was fastened to the mast and the men tried to lift the mast upright so that it could be placed in the canoe and lashed to the cross booms. The mast and sail together were so heavy that the united strength of all the men could not budge it. Just then Te Kalele, a champion of the group and one who had been visiting inland, came back to the beach. He took hold of the mast with one hand and easily inserted it into the hull of the canoe. The group sailed back to Pukapuka. They decided not to go again to Nassau but instead to start a place of copulation on Wale. Of this company was the woman Wanguna whose magical powers and nymphomaniac tendencies were directly responsible for the island-wide disregard of the tapus that resulted in a catastrophic tidal wave.

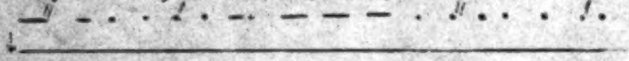
[133] 17. This rock, moved twice by Kuialaloa, still partially blocks the reef channel on Nassau Island to this day. Shooting the reef at this point, the only channel on the leeward side of the island, is hazardous even with a moderate sea.

533 often false accent in order to establish a necessary felt rhythm to the chant as a whole.

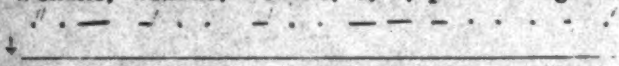
It is customary to chant most of the chants, especially the shorter ones, three times in succession. The first time, the chanting is slow and soft; the second time, speed and volume are increased; the third time, the chanting is loud, very fast and excited. Of many individual peculiarities in chanting, one particularly noted was the tendency of Pau to reduce all his e and o sounds to one sound equivalent to the English a (as in cat), an unusual Polynesian sound. Like that of other men, Pau's chanting is very guttural and deep throated save when it rises to falsetto.

The following metrical analysis of a tila inidicates the changes of accent, and pitch involved in one chant. Symbols used are:—, for a long vowel;–, a half long; . , a short vowel; ″ , a strong accent; ′ , medium accent; ↓ , low pitch; ↑ , high pitch; no mark indicates a middle pitch. The tanga of lines 1 to 10 is ta waka e e; 11 to 15 are ta wakatokutoku. The long-short meter is continued for half of lines 16, 17, 18 the remainder of these lines consisting of short vowels. The tanga of the rest of the chant is ta wakatato.

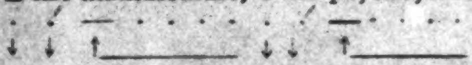
533
539 1. Tu, tu i Yayake nui, e , e, e, te tawito niu loa.



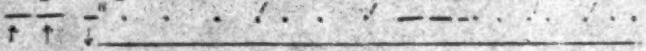
2. Wenake, wenake, wenake, e, e, pa i te langi nei.



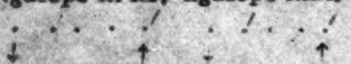
3. E kai mamulemule; e kai payekeyeke.



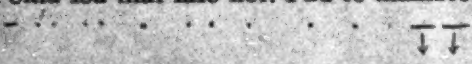
4. Angi, angi mai te matangi nei; lulu ia te ulu wenua:



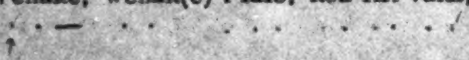
5. Ngalepe ki ko, ngalepe kiai.



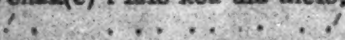
6. Pokia loa mai lalo nei: Pau te mamate.



7. Wenake, wenak(e) i lalo, koa lili vaka;



8. Wenak(e) i lalo koa ula melo;



9. Wenak(e) i lalo tuk(i) i te papa o te waulua.

10. Lipitia te yinakava; yuatia te wale atua.
↓ ↓ ↑ ↓ ↓ ↑

11. Ya wakakuekue; ya wakatuloutulou.
↓________↑ ↓ ↑ ↓________↑ ↓ ↑

12. Ko te toa, koa Nguye e, e, e.
↓ ↓ ↓ ↑ ↓ ↓

13. Ko tau pokopolo, oku pokoivi.
↑____________ ↑ ↑____

14. Ko tike toku lae, ia lae kula.
↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↑ ↑

15. Ko melo toku ngati, ia ngati melo.
↓______________ ↑__________

16. Ko titike i Ngake na tuatua mata o Tongaleleva.
↓______________

17. Ko wakayeke mai ona ulu tao, tau ia wano.
↓________________________ ↑________

18. Ko wakayeke mai ona ulu koyo, tau ia wano.
↓__________________________ ↑________

19. Tike e, tike pe i Uyo e; kakole e mea e yao ai.
↑ ↓ ↓________________

20. Ko wakakikio tangata; koa kalalau tangata.
↑__________ ↑__________

21. Yuatia teja; wakatangilia teja.

22. Na tama i te mata luluma, na topetopea;

23. Yoko a Wenutu ki te lakau wakatalatala.

24. Amanie e ia; amanie e.
↑ ↑ ↑↑ ↑ ↑ ↓

128 533 192 different for the Pukapukan from the weighting of the same words for the Western European. A word that is neutral, that has no overtones of meaning or emotion for the Pukapukan may have many overtones for the average European, and more specific overtones for the individual European. To translate freely the many references in the chants to activities associated with sexual intercourse would give an entirely false idea of one of the most characteristic features of Pukapukan culture. To translate them accurately, is to impinge on the innumerable emotional overtones which swell and eddy about the ideas of these activities in the mind of the average European; this again gives a false idea of Pukapukan realism because these words, activities, and concepts are on an average neutral words for the Pukapukan, weighted down by few overtones. Their familiarity to, and use by, the most immature child is certain proof of this. Professional conscience has dictated that the following translations err on the side of accuracy. They can only present a near approach to the ideals of Pukapukan culture if the problem of relative weighting of words is kept severely to the fore.

Chant for a Sacred Maid (1)

539 Yakili ipo au mai Loto	I searched for a sweetheart in Loto
Ki te leleinga o Te Tokolangi,	One with the beauty of the flowers of Tokolangi Islet, (2)
Koa wakina au, utangia ki lunga o te vaka o Tona ma Taea.	The flowers that I picked and loaded onto the canoes of Tona and Taea.
Toku yana e atule tauila	My beloved is as a young *atule* fish

1. This chant is of the type called *kupu*. It was composed about a hundred years ago, by a man whose name is not remembered, for Muluka, second daughter of the high chief Kaiti of Loto village. The fancy of the composer compares the girl to a *mayakitanga*, sacred maid, a position held by her older sister. The sacred maid was, by virtue of the sheltered life she led, the island's beauty. For a description of the status and functions of the sacred maid see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 237-239, category 116--analyst.]

[773] 2. Legendary land at the edge of the sky, discovered by the voyagers Tonu and Taea and famed for the beauty of its flowers. See[1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, p. 401, category 116--analyst].

539 Naku pulua ki te welo ke lavalava	Covered with a spreading of welo flowers.
Tu la lunga o te unu ya o Mataliki,	She stood above the sacred worshipping stone of Mataliki the god,
Te mayui pe tilitili malo.	The one beloved as the elements of a malo. (3)
Ya ue pepe i te tiniu ko te nokenoke o te lalanga;	As quickly as if chasing butterflies, the women run to see the beauty of her plaiting;
Watu tonu ina, yayako ki mua;	Exact is her plaiting, straight in front;
Tau malo wai matapili ika	Your malo made well enough to serve as a fish noose.
Ya manea i na tupuna o te moana	Ancestors of the sea admired
Ki te kave lua o te lauena,	The two designs in the elements,
Watu wala kula ina la loto,	Designs worked within with red pandanus,
Yimu toki ina Wakalakalaka.	Designs as varied as the lashing of an adz.
Te matai te wawine tuwunga.	The most expert of expert women is my beloved.
Kavea ke wakayawia te mayakitanga tupu lelei,	Come, let me show you off, o sacred maid with your lovely face,
Vaimata uyi matangaleka,	Black your eyebrows, perfect to look at,
Wuwuke i loto o te wale tapu tapipi ia.	Brought from the sacred house (as if a real sacred maid!) then sprinkled with oil.
Wakalepua ke uluia mai oku tino	Stirred and excited is my body
E to amonga lalao maki,	By you, member of the lineage famed for healing the sick,
Na pulutia koe nanaia.	Secretly I embraced you.
Kavea o taua ki vao ke wakataukoti	Then fought with others over you in the bush
Ki te toki i na lelei o te tama pe Yinaliulu,	Cutting ourselves with adzes, child beautiful as Yinaliulu. (4)

3. This line is obscure but the implication seems to be that the sacred maid is as closely under the protection of the god Mataliki as the plaited elements stand to each other in a finished malo.
4. A double reference to the goddess Yina and the child Yinaliulu.

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Na ta lau ina takitakina mai lunga	Chanted now the song for the lifting high of the sacred maid (5)
Kavea e,	Chanted the song for carrying her,
(Talowia, yau toku yana nei!)	(I beckon, come my beloved!)
Koa tangi te pu,	The shell trumpet sounds,
Tangi te nawa tokelekele,	Deafening the beating of the wooden gong,
Te lau o te aliki mai Loto.	Loud the chants of Loto's chief.
Te ulu vavai lau kenakena	You are as a cluster of white-leafed creeping *vavai*
Ya kotowia i te mako a te atu Tokolangi,	Picked in Tokolangi for the chanting,
Te taumakomako wakatongele	Or as the *taumakomako* plant, smooth and beautiful.
Ya takitaki tu ina mai,	I carried you and you stood there,
To tauyala, to lelei,	Handsome in your beauty,
Ya waingaina mai titinga,	Well fed from your childhood onwards,
E talo tu koe, lau ngavali no Wenuaeke	Standing as taro with swaying leaves in Wenuaeke (6)
No to tava loa ki Uta.	On the far side of Uta's reserve
Te wawine o Te Vai Talo Po,	For you, woman of Te Vai, taro gardens of the Underworld,
Naku lavalava ko te kie o lulunga kakana-langi,	I spread *kie* leaves for the gathered *kakana-langi* fish, (7)
Te pulotu o te mako o Loto,	For you, o beauty of Loto's chants,
Putenga mawakiwaki wua,	With thighs opening and closing,
I te ulu kalolo, koa takinai au.	With straight hanging hair, that attracts me.

5. The special chant sung when the sacred maid is lifted high in the hands of her retainers and carried about the island to the sounding of trumpets and the beating of gongs is given in [l:] ; Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, p. 238, category 116--analyst].

6. A taro bed famed for its luxuriant growth of taro in the reserve Uta of Loto village.

7. Figurative reference to the woman's genitals. Note the association here between the sex act and the concept of eating: the woman is as if fish gathered for a feast and spread on leaves to be divided among the people.

539 Valea e to ta wuti kula	I am satisfied with your bunch of red bananas (8)
Na malu vevenu i oku lalo.	Soft and moist to my lower body.
Na taia ngalo toku yiku o tai ika la mua,	I struck at the hook, then lost my tail as the first fish caught. (9)
E to ngako wu toto pe te tala o te malau	Fat your vulva, blood red like the fins of the malau fish
Malili au--	I am lost in amazed wonder--
Koa oyoia i lepa iai mumula la loto	Your labia stand burning-red there
O to titi ilangia te kilitai i lunga	Inside your kilt, lighting the skin above
E na koyi tenga o te lelei	The striped thighs (10) of my pretty one.
Ke wo mai mau ngutu i taku ipo lelei na tupungatai,	Let them come talking of my sweetheart, beautiful, quickly grown,
Wua pupuku, na wenake ma te alangalanga,	Fat and round her body, plump her buttocks,
Uyi to kava kololo pe te ulu o te yamuti	Dark her pubic hair, hanging as the crowned leaves of the yamuti tree
Tulekina ki lalo, olo te lau.	Flattened down, but well-growing leaves.
Tama o te matangi wakalua	O child of Loto's wakalua wind
E leionga ika tauila, e wuwulu i o toto,	The fresh-spawned fish come in, but bathed in your menstrual blood. (11)
Ko te tuayilivalu,	Blood of the tuayilivalu fish,
Ko te yiku o te tawola tu,	Is only the tail of the Right whale. (12)
Ko te wakamatua tena o na tupuna o te moana.	The largest this, of the creatures of the ocean.
Kai ye yuayuakina mai titi wonu e,	Do not open to others your turtle kilt,
Titi taepu, to ulunga kea wonu manini--	Even your small turtle kilt, do not open to the group of green turtles--(13)
E maneai au la lunga o to tuapali tupu tala.	Let me alone play above your mons veneris, plump, well-grown.

539 [These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]

8. Reference to the vulva. There is frequent metaphorical reference throughout the chants to the woman's genitals in terms of a bunch or cluster of red fruits. In other contexts however, the banana is frequently used as a symbol for the penis.

9. Sexual intercourse is here likened to the activity of fishing. Just as in fishing the fisherman pursues a fish with his hook, so in love making the man pursues his mistress. There is a real parallel in the Pukapukan mind between the skills, the excitement, and the suspense of fishing and love making.

10. The thighs are very commonly referred to as being striped. This is a metaphor drawn from stripes on a fish's body and may also refer to the blue veining of the skin on the inside of the legs.

11. Carrying on the previous reference to Yina the culture heroine, the woman is endowed with the power of Yina to color fish with her menstrual blood.

12. The chanter boasts that his penis is like the right whale, largest of all and that only he may have intercourse with her.

13. The woman's other suitors are compared to a row of male turtles pursing one female turtle.

539 Chant from a Yato Man to a Woman of Ngake (1)

Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga	Chant my chant to the distant clearings
Te wawine vave na yia ko te maonioni,	The strong woman is pleased and industrious,
E tuki to koyo, ngalepe te papa o te wenua,	Thrust down your digging stick, broken the level surface of the land,
Napea ki lunga ko te palapala.	Thrown up the mud of the taro garden.
Na mawiti te tuna, kakao ko te liu o Taua,	The eel is started, ascends from Taua's depths, (2)
Wakaoi ake na teletele, tuki ake te puna lalo wenua,	The soft earth is stirred, the subsoil water seeps up,
Poki wainga ia ke ola, taki kau tolu, koa velo ake to kaua,	Successful your planting, triple taro petioles appeared, the main stalk shot upward,
Tilikao ina ko te lau puka	Fertilized with leaves of the puka
Wotuwotu te peleua, utouto te talo kena,	The peleua taro matured, the white taro grew high,
E toaki te kele kula, e ula te ulu pepe ki lalo,	Leaves of the red taro spread, the lower leaves reddened,
Wakatu te piki kivingaleka e wawai ko tau matauyu,	The shoots stood firmly, you pulled the first rows,
E wakia ngalepe te ulukau, e kotia ngalepe te kaua,	Tore off the young leaves, cut and broke off the stalk,
E topetopea ona piki, ona vaivai talo,	Cut off the shoots and little tubers,
E ulaulaki koa amoamo lalava, ko na matawale,	Carried your tuber-loaded basket to the house fronts,

1. This is a love chant composed by a man, Pania of Yato village, for Ulutapu a woman of Ngake. It is a good example of a long love chant with characteristically long and involved symbolisms and metaphors. It was composed during the time of Tuiva's regency.

[244] [776] 2. Successive lines give an excellent account of taro cultivation. The strong woman digs so deep in the taro gardens that she stirs up the lurking eel which is the agent and messenger of the goddess Taua. Another appearance of the eel is recorded in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 81-82, category 116--analyst].

539 E toaki atu tona nunuinga, wiliwili ake tona ao lua,	Spread the big tubers, separated the second class tubers,
Kauwia io mata lualau, moe mai mua tau Katikatinga.	Counted two hundred tubers; then you rest before your next activity.
Na matatini ma mata mano o te monotanga olo a Ngake,	One thousand, ten thousand, tubers you have for the taro puddings of Ngake's feast,
E tau tokalua te olo koa kave la wale	Two men are needed to carry your pudding from the house
E mangungu pau to yolonga, e toaki ngalepe ko te tulanga,	Members of your lineage rush where the food is spread, bursting from the houses,
E kati mai lunga ona lopa, na tala valea,	The young men bite into the food, speak satisfaction,
Takapelupelu ona wawine wai muli lele alangalanga.	The women fill out, their buttocks become round,
Na wua pupuku na putenga.	Their thighs become plump.
Ke wuli au mai lunga o te wu,	Let me turn towards your vulva,
Kai wakaata pe te ui pa,	Irridescent as pearlshell,
Ko pali mawolawola, toaki te wuluwulu	The labia part, the pubic hair of youth
Na matili ma to tuapali,	Spread across the mons veneris,
Uyi pe te ulu o Tongaleleva, wakalava te wu laingaloa	Dark as the distant tree tops of Tongaleleva, the vulva stretches like a tall tree (3)
Na muia pe Wenua-loa.	More and more visible as the islet Wenua-loa through the haze.
Na tawiwi te lepe ma te kakano.	Male and female organs conjoin.
Na ngatata pe te ayioyio	Struggling like the ayioyio fish on a hook
Na motumotu i toku niwi, aku akalava ke lave,	My penis breaks loose, I am caught again tightly,
Na pipiki makeke ma te pukiko,	I am hooked fast behind the clitoris,
E kukume atu kalali pe te vave o te ika.	I pull away swiftly with the strength of a fish.
Na toina au ki lalo,	I fall down below,

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3. A legendary land frequently mentioned in traditional history and legends.

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole, -98 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 Wotu o mua, koa melo pe te laukape Kea,	Your front is engorged, gold as turtle fat,
Wakaata mai. Tango ki te lima, yongi ki te iyu,	Suffused with red. I fondle with my hands, touch with my nose,
Wuli ake au ke aku kaina io mai lunga,	I turn upwards where I feasted,
I te kai manako o te tangata.	On the food desired by man.
E wakalililili lua vaimata, waka-lililili to koyi manava,	I am thrilled by your eyebrows, thrilled by your belly creases,
Wakalililili lua putenga, maea au i to tupu,	Thrilled by your thighs, ravished by your body,
Koa ata, koa kauwonoi,	Beautiful and fat,
Na yeyele, koa matanga kapa, tino nui koa matangawie,	A smooth, greatly desired, large body, pleasant to the eye,
Na onoonowia, lole te tupu matangaleka,	I looked, perfect your lovely body,
E avatu ma o muli yina.	Perfect right to your waist,
Wakaayawi mai i na wale, e tauyala koe ki mua,	Show off before the houses, handsome above all others,
E popoti te tupu tala i lalo.	The sides of your body below are beautiful.
I toku mata tu wakapulawa, i te manako ulu ma to tino	i Before my eyes stand naked. My mind goes through your body
Naku takunatu ki te kalele ke pole mai koe ki aku.	And I commission a messenger to learn whether you favor me.
Lolo taua e toku tangata, ma to matamatangi ko Ngake,	Let us stroll, o my woman, to where Ngake's winds blow,
Naku akakoyia o mua ki toku malo nuanua, toku malo ula toto,	Your front I cut with my rainbow-hued malo, (4) my malo blood-red,
Toku wuti malo ula, toku malo wakaluia, toku malo akavai,	My malo red-streamered, my malo desired by women, my malo envied by others.
Yelea te wakatiu, pakia te palapu,	Tamed Yato's wakatiu wind, struck by Ngake's palapu wind,
Koa lauveve wua i oku ala matangi	Gentled by winds of Yato
Ya veve mai te tonga.	And made gentle the south wind too.
Manea taua mai Ngake, ko moe i Tipia ma Wakakoyi,	We stroll from Ngake to sleep in Yayake's lands of Tipia and Wakakayi,

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4. A favorite transferred metaphor in the chants where malo is a symbol for that which it covers.

539 Ka yala ki Yake ma Awuawu.	And visit the lands of Yake and Awuawu.
Lio ake au ko na wutiwanga o Lapaiva	In your defense I challenge the houselots of Lapaiva
Apoapo ai taku lakau, wakaoli au ma na tangata o Langilili,	I flourish my weapon, fight the men of Langilili,
Ma na wutiwanga o Lapaiva, yau e te Yake	Fight the houselot men of Lapaiva. Come, woman of Yake, (5)
Ke manea taua ma to mulitaua,	Let us wander, your body's organs are like a dart throwing base, (6)
Wengatu au ke aku kitea o pawonu i Walalanga,	I go to see your turtles enclosed at Walalanga,
Pe ko pei taku mataweo, na wua pupuku,	Comparing them with my turtle woman, plump and round,
Una pulapula, una tanetane;	Whose turtle-shell-like skin is spotted with Tinea marks; (7)
Kai wiwi lunga, kai kapilele, vayia io,	I turn on top to feast on sliced layers of flesh,
Koa melo to laukape kea,	Turtle flesh golden in hue,
Ula pe te koyi o te nuanua naku tukiatu, ngaolo ko te tawa o te langi.	Crimson as the rainbow's stripe that I place along the horizon of my sky-woman.
Yeke io loa ko te kotianga o Avaloa	I move quietly to Avaloa's village boundary
Pe ko no ai te wawine lelei o Wulia,	Wondering whether the beautiful woman of Wulia (8) lives close by
Ya wakawiwi lakei ma te pua walakula,	We met, she was decorated with red Pandanus flowers,
Omo ko te yinu, puya te kakala.	Oily her skin and sweet smelling.
E wakavovi au kiai, wuli mai koe ke lolo awu taua	Shyly I look at you, you turn to me and we go wandering
Yala i o nuku lau mamake, ko te patenga o te naupata mai Yayake,	To your shady islet, to the leafy bed of naupata from Yayake,
Ke wai io ai e wainga ma taua.	That we embrace together.
E wakayangayanga mai, na lite ko toku tapele,	Spread are your legs as you lean upon my leafy couch,
E wulitonu mai koe, e angaiatu au ke wemili ake akalelei,	You turn to me, I move toward you that we may feel each other well,
Polo au ko akaaka lua oku vae,lalao atu ai oku lima	I clasp you tightly, my legs convulsively moving as I use my hands

[These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]

839 5. The reference to Yake and Yayake calls up the sexual plays and institutions for which these legendary lands are famous in Pukapukan history. Lapaiva and Langilili are the names of remembered household sections in Yayake.

6. The mulitaua, throwing base, is a pit used in the game of composite dart (velo) throwing; see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 365-366, category 116--analyst]. The sexual symbolism is obvious.

[832] 7. Tinea infection of the skin produces large shapeless blotches lighter than the surrounding skin color. A skin so marked is considered beautiful and a lover is proud *to compliment his mistress* on her spotted skin.

[103] 8. Avaloa or Avalua is an old name for the village of Loto, Wulis an open space on the Ngake side of this boundary.

539

E apo vae tai ina, e apo vae lua ina e wakatau ki te koni,	Lifting your first leg, then your second leg, preparing for our embrace,
Kunuwia mai na pakakina, witi atu, tavili io mai lunga,	We move up and down, I climb above, oscillate over you,
Katamutamu, kavatavata, kokiki,	Katamutamu, kavatavata, kokiki,
Ngalulululu, pakapakakina, kalakalala--	Ngalulululu, pakapakakina, kalakalala--these are the sounds of our embracing.
Pia au e te vale wu, na valea, e te maniania	I eject, your secretions flow, satisfied our excitement
Na tuki oku vave ya lulu mai loto o to wu,	Pounded my strength, gathered inside your body,
Na mawelawela wua atu ki lalo,	Then I fall back, down,
Tokutoku au ke malama ake ma oku mata,	Gasping till my eyes become light,
Ke nui ake ma toku manava,	Till my belly swells large,
Ke paki atu taua wakalua, *wakatolu.*	That we may embrace twice, *thrice.*
Wolaia mai te potu yakali tawa niniva,	Flattened is your mature coconut, (9) once pointed sharply,
Na yeyele, ye atatelekia pe te tawa o te yuvelovelo	Now smooth, no longer sharp to pierce like the spear's edge
Na kotia au, motu i loto, ko takoto ai oku tala tupua, oku wanongo;	I cut you, broke you in the middle; now my history is established, my tale will be told;
E nunumi au ke nono taua i te konga i tai	I hold you to me so that we stay in one place
Wakalata ko te vao o aitu ke momoe mai wakalelei,	Faithful to each other in the forest of spirits that we may sleep well,
Wakamatala ke kitea, na ngalo vale koe ma te tinui,	Loosen your kilt that I may see; you have lost secretions like other women,
Na wetike o ipu laukape, matolu to kaokao wonu,	But your cup of turtle fat remains; thickset are your turtle-like sides,
Na malu te puku na tangitangi, na yeyele to papa waulua,	Soft the sounding fat to the touch; smooth the bottoms of the double canoe,

9. A roundabout, though not to the Pukapukan mind, obscure reference to the clitoris.

539 Na mawola lua laungutu wu.	Spread apart your two labia.
Na wuli tawa ai au mai lunga te puaka nui o Tonga e,	I turn sideways above you, large pig of Tonga,
Na mawola to aloalo ngolo, aku toina ko te wuti o te ngayu i Taupe,	Spread apart your pig's breasts. I pull you to the shady leaves of the *ngayu* bushes at Taupe,
Te konga e tangi te lingolingo i te tala o Pepe i Yayake,	To the deserted beach where the landshells cried in Yayake' story of Pepe. (10)
I te lua talo na yokaiai ko Wuina, na kave o lalo o te launiu	Deserted as the taro pit where Wuina was speared beneath the drooping coconut leaf
Ya wakaoli ai ia Kape i te imu no Malamalatia.	Speared as Kape feinted, revenging his dead brother Malamatia. (11)
Na mulu nei taua. Na tupu i wea taku lakau?	We touch each other. Where was my stick grown? (12)
Na velo ko te va o Avayiki,	It shot up in the spaces of legendary Avayiki,
Kekeo ko lunga o te ulu o te talakelake,	Towering above the tops of the *talakelake* trees,
Koa lueia, e wati te lau,	Which shook, broke off leaves,
Koa pakia, pakia, e tatane te kili koa wakia.	That hit your body, spotting your skin, leaves torn off.
E popoti te tupu toyeyele,	Your pubic hair grows trim and smooth,
E litolito i ngalu lele, e vevia au,	White your skin as foam-crested waves, I am excited,
E yakayaka mai koe, ni lelei no Ngake,	As you dance for me, you, the beauty of Ngake,
E tavake mokomoko o te ulu ngayu nui,	You, the white-tailed tropic bird of the large *ngayu* grove,
Ko tu ki Alapata, kanapanapa wua ko te mata o te maina,	That stands on Alapata's island, shining to the face of the moon,

10. The reference is to a story no longer remembered. Whenever the Pukapukan wishes to give the feeling of a deserted place, he commonly characterizes it as being so quiet and unvisited that the landshells may be heard.

11. For the story of Wuina and Kape see page 59.

12. The word *lakau* meaning tree, stick, wood, or weapon has here the obvious sexual connotation.

539 To popongi na kili o te tiniu, peia waike te kili o te pulotu	Dark the skin of women, different yours, skin of the beautiful one,
E yuyulu i te tini o Pana, taku ngolo o na ulu tavai	Shining among the many of Pana's (13) women, o creature of the tavai tree top,
Na wakamate mai ki oku lunga, ya wakaili ki oku pi wu pa matangi,	You were as dead above me, resting on my breasts, sheltered from the winds,
Te tamawine na wuwuli i toku winangalo.	The girl who returned my desire.
Wakamatala ake te tai tua, ko ulu titimo ko te Po.	Open up the sea coast path, we enter stealthily into the Underworld, (14)
Yuli oku ala kauliliki, ko takoto toku unu na vae, na makoyi,	Treading on my narrow road, my foot tracks remaining well-marked,
Na wano ko te matangi, na yala i na nuku o aitu	We go to the place of the winds, to the islet of spirits
Toki i te wuti o Mulua,	Planted with the banana tree of Mulua, the god,
Toki i te kapi o Tangaloa, livai ia ko te niu a Malu,	Planted on the level of the Tangaloa gods who surround the coconut tree of Malu,
E liliva ko te va i matau,	Surrounding the space to the right,
E liliva ko te va i mayui, kakalo te atua wai newu,	Surrounding the space to the left; the magic-making god looks round,
Ko tu i te watu a Yokamani,	Standing at Yokamani's balancing stone.
Te palenga o te Po ma to ao, wakakati ai	Where the Underworld and the world of light join together, blocking the path
Lua wata wano ola ko te Po.	Of the two priests who went as living beings to the Underworld.
E mawiti koe la oku lunga, e kiai naku pukea mai;	You broke away from me, I did not catch you;

[103] 13 An old name for Ngake village, and one frequently used in the chants to refer to the village or the activities of its members.

14. For a description of the places and gods in the Underworld referred to in the following lines, see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 326-328, category 116--analyst].

539 Na yelea ko te talakelake, wakawiwi ake te mauli, koa mate, koa elo.	You were tied to the talakelake tree, your soul trap-tangled, died, stank.
Wakatautili ai taua i te pu o te puka o Tangi;	We were both thrown to the foot of Tangi's puka tree;
Wakaulu ko te wale poutini;	We entered Leva's house of a thousand posts;
Kauwia toku yana ko te Po, e manata ko te yolonga mua,	I count over my death gifts taken to the Underworld; then look for my early ancestors,
E mamata ko te yolonga muli; wakaake ko te ui a Lepiu,	Look for my later ancestors among the spirits; climb up to the taro beds of Lepiu,
Te mata taia a Lea, alualu ma Lepiu maua	Where Lea gathers tubers. Lepiu and I hasten on
Ke kiteake na ui liliku o te Po,	To see the illimitable taro beds of the Underworld,
E wai muli koko, tawanga wua, e wai motuinga,	Their corners far apart, the beds divided into sections,
Koa lalava, e wakia ko te talo lau kula,	Plentiful the taro in them. broken is the red-leafed taro
E wakia ko te talo lau melo,	Broken the yellow-leafed taro,
E pule tauina ye mawiti, e kotowia mai lakeia te pua o aitu,	Surrounded the beds by a guard that none may break, we cut decorations of spirit-flowers,
Koa kakala, e maneanea, yulu na ma to tuapali, taku newu matangi!	Sweetly they smell as we play, fastening them to your mons veneris, o my wind spirit!
Te ata wai o te waiti o te Po ma te ao malama	Into the shadowy space between the Underworld and the world of light
Ya velo ai toku vae tapu	I thrust my sacred foot
Ya wakakokia, tangi te lupe;	Stamping loud, and calling the pigeon's cry; (15)

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15. An inadequate translation of the phrase tangi te lupe. To lupe is to beat the thighs and make with the lips sounds of a pigeon. It is the method of establishing communication with a god. In referring to a sacred foot the chanter is comparing himself to the well-known character, Te Yoa, who was saved from danger in his conflict with the man-eating demon Te Atua Pule by thrusting his sacred foot into the ground (see the story on page 48.)

Ya puyitai na te tangata, wakapuke ai oku wale maki.	The man blew once, seized my house of sickness.
Omoyia ki te wakamanongi, wakataka mai te tokanga;	Smeared with your scented oil, bring together the sickness makers;
Koa avake i lalo te yiva nei,	The yiva chanting rises,
Koa ta te kapa a tangaloa;	And the kapa chant of the tangaloa gods;
Wakaolia mai te atu mua, wakaolia mai te atu loto,	The front row dances forward, then the middle row,
Newuta e Vave mai lunga, na mimia ki te matamatangi.	The god Vave beats his drum, the gods rush in all the directions of the wind,
Wetuki ki ngake, ki te malamanga o te tangata;	Rushing to the east, to the cleverest among the people;
Wakatu polo ta mo Leva. e wakia to tili	They arise, chanting for Leva, singing your tili chant
Na watu ai i te Po.	Composed in the Underworld.
E avake loa tuveina, wakalonga ko te tama leoleka.	The sound of chanting rises and the gods marvel, listening to your sweet voice.
E mawola to lava koti ika e kiliti i to tapu tangata,	Spread out your coconut leaf on which the fish is cut, bring forward your food gifts,
E ueia mai ki ngalepe, tuku teletele;	We chase away the people, scattering them in all directions;
Polokemeyia ma te ngutuala,	We embrace each other on the main paths,
Wai ki te koni, toka aku pole, e ulu atu au kia koe,	And embracing, satisfy desire in my entering into you.
Ko wuluwuluna, ko takelea, ko kanapa i te vau yina ma,	We wash, bathe, shiny the skin in the pool,
Ko tu i te vai i yua tili,	We stand at the pool of spraying water,
Ake ko te vai i Wuluna,	Go on to the pool at Wuluna,
Ake ko te vai i Wualolo,	Visit Wualolo's pool,
Ake ko te vai i Tamulua.	And then on to the pool at Tamulua. (16)
E maneanea ai taua, e moungutuina, laulapua mai ki te ngutu	We play there and talk, speaking with our mouths

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16. These are the names of well-known pools on the islet of Pukapuka.

539 E ni wakaiponga loa lata te manako ulu.	Of that adultery that delights the heart.
E tala to pali ia wuluwululena,	I think of your smooth mons veneris covered with hair,
Na mapua pe te ulu yelu mai.	Hair standing as if just combed.
Awa! lalo kai kula pe te ngako taiva kauaki,	Awa! below is red food like the fat of the taiva fish,
Ka momono ki toku wuti malu, kai puyonui, kai tiketike wua,	I shall insert my banana soft, food swoolen, food high-standing,
Na yikai ai au, motu, koa teka.	I pushed in, then broken, separated.

A Lolominga chant in praise of a woman (1)

Yitiki ki te uka mai lunga,	Lash the house above with sennit,
E Ato i te wale, koa niniva	Thatch it, sharp are the sides,
E tuki te peau koa nonoke,	The rough seas pound, splendidly firm stands the house.
E kayiva te uilte katea,	With pearlshell fastened on the starboard side,
E nokenoke, e vaka Lakawanga.	Splendid is the canoe of Lakawanga.
Ke yaoiatu te muavaka,	Let the bow of the canoe be torn open,
E mapipipipi a na wainga.	Torn wide open in the doing.
E uila mata takemo ake--	A flash of lightning dazzles me--
E wakakekeyu ki te puapua,	Fine is the canoe made of puapua wood,
Taukonekone mai Lakawanga.	Of stripe-grained wood from Lakawanga.
E wakatau ai au tuta,	I fit together the flanges,

1. This short chant is a somewhat elaborate comparison between a woman and first, a house and then a canoe. The second analogy is a frequent and very apt one to the Pukapukan mind. There is first, a close association between the form of a canoe and a woman's sexual organs and second, the beauty of a finely constructed canoe; its perfect shape and build, immediately call to mind beauty of form and line in a woman's body. In this chant the woman is compared to a canoe from Lakawanga (Rakahanga), where it is customary to decorate the canoes with pearlshell ornamentation. This comparison is all the more appropriate in that the woman is descended from Rakahangan castaways.

539 Koa pu wa, pu lima,	They have four holes, five holes,
Pe te pu ui mai Lakawanga.	Like the pearlshell-holed canoe from Lakawanga.
Na weniti, koa makavekave,	Thick is the sennit, hanging in a fringe.
Te kalaka kula e, na pae mai ngake nei,	Before the crimson kalaka seeds drifted from the east.
Keukeu keu a e!	Perfect is the canoe, it is perfect!

Introductory Chant from the Tamau Cycle (1)

Ko wakangaki atu ai au, penapena toku vaka, lokiloki malie--	I long for you as I prepare carefully my canoe for launching--
Wakatele atu au ki o nuku i ngake,	I sail to your islets in the eastern seas, (2)
Uta i te lakie, te puaka tino nui,	Loaded my canoe with tern and large-bodied pigs,
Te manu o te maunga ya wakaolioli	With the soaring birds of the mountain tops;
E unu i tiku yana, e lolo taua ki te tili puanga a Te Malenga	Taking out my pearlshell necklace, we two go to the flowered offering place of the gods
E liliva ko te niu a Malu. E wakamatau ki te matangi	Gathered round the coconut tree of Malu. (3) Grown used to the wind,
E popoti te tupu wawine, na topotipoti nonoke i aku onoononga.	Soft and neat the hair on your maiden's body, lovely, beautiful to my eye.
To tu tolo mua tu witu, teka i te va o Yayanga wakatuloutulou.	Ahead of your seven sisters, you crown the space of Yayanga, humbling the people.
E ta tau papa malalilali, payekeyeke,	Your plaiting board is cut smooth and slippery,
Tio te malo wakamaepa te wuluwulu,	Plaiting a malo, your elements are spread apart, untangled,
E liaki te kie kula, e taki te kie wete, e lalanga te epaepa,	Display your red kie mat, your kie wete mat, your plaited epaepa mat, (4)
E wakamaonioni, e tovili i lalanga,	Your hands are industrious and quick at plaiting.
Taku yana tamawine, e aku onoonoyia,	My beloved girl, I gaze on you
Naku puipuia ki te ngutu, naku wakiwakia na la	And would ward your from idle gossip, trimming
Kae tupulia nuku te ulu.	The tree that is you from growing crooked.

539 [These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]
533

1. The Tamanu cycle consists of two introductory love chants, three main love chants and three shorter chants (*tila*). These chants were all composed in premissionary times but by various individuals. Although there are few common threads of meaning running through them all, nevertheless informants consistently grouped them together as a related cycle of chants. This seems to be based on the fact that in each chant there is at least one figure of speech derived from the appearance or quality of the *tamanu* tree. The *tamanu* or *wetau* is a tall tree growing high above others in the atoll bush; its spreading branches are associated in the Pukapukan mind with richness both in plant and human growth. This introductory chant was composed by the Yato man, Vaka-awi (also known as Atamu) of Yalongo lineage, for the Ngake woman Ikawotu of Muliwutu lineage.

[521] 2. Ngake village is understood to control all the seas and islets to the east of Pukapuka.

3. A god in the Underworld controlling a magical coconut tree.

4. The *kie* and *epaepa* mats were finely plaited, made only by the most skilled women.

539 Na ulu atu, yala ko loto o na kaputinga a na palu	In my canoe I join the men fishing for palu
Tele ake te ika lalo moana ya tuki i te wui tane,	The fish swim below the sea chased by the fishermen,
Yele koti te kino mata momole--	Rivals for your beauty, those with ugly, flat eyes--
Koti tau o taku akaiponga i taku lakau	Would cut the anchor that marries me to my tree
Tu ko loto o te puyo wenua o Tonga ma Yake,	That stands within the back lands of Tonga and Yake,
Ta te uluanga mai lunga, na nenewu pe na yamatangi,	Cut the branches of this tree, branches close pressing as the prayed for wind,
Yau ko te mumu o Matakula toliki. Yeyele o waitunga,	Coming through the star-clusters crowding round Mars. Smooth is your waist,
Yau ko te koyi o te nuanua.	Prettier far than the stripes of the rainbow.
E liaki toku vaka wiwi, e pepelu i toku malo lepe,	I display my canoe (it is you!), I am girded in my malo of testicles,
E wuti wawa tau au ma to Nukuloa mamao,	I draw the sail sheet, come to your islet of Nukuloa, (5) far away,
Na wakatete i te ama akatipa i te wuli,	With outrigger raised, the canoe sailed erratically with steering,
Kai maka ko na mata tau ko Tawiti,	So that we were thrown wide away from the landing points of Tawiti.
Ki au e to malamala wetau o te vao o Te Tea,	I am filled, warmed with your tamanu fire chips from the forest of Te Tea. (6)
Ka tipu motu te puapua, yakoi te wakanava,	I will cut down the puapua tree, the straight wakanava tree that challenge you, the tamanu tree,
Na lio mai Ngake lelei, koi uyunake na lau o te wawine i mua,	I will protect the beauty of Ngake; start the hundred chants known to you, woman superior to all,
Na tokele ngungulu i Muliwutu	The booming sound fires with excitement the men of Muliwutu lineage
Lakalaka ia pau na muna o Tuyiyauola, wakakeyu koe e wawine vave	For you, the superior, the strong I would pass over all the wives of the chief Tuyiyauola (7)
Lio atu au e tane wua pe Te Nana,	I guard you, I, as skillful a fighter as Te Nana, (8)

539 [These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]

[103] 5. Nuku Loa, an olden name for Ngake's reserve islet Motu Ko. The meaning of these lines is that the man will take his beloved in secret to the islet that recurs time and again in Pukapukan stories as the one best suited for love-making.

6. The forest of Te Tea is that in which Lata chopped down the tree for his canoe. See story on page 17.

7. Tuyiyauola, chief in the land of Yayake, is well known in Pukapukan traditions for the fact that he had many beautiful wives.

8. For the story of Te Nana, see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 402, 405, category 116--analyst].

539 Yala ko te pu o lua wenua,	I come to the hole between the two
tuki mai o koe e wawine,	islands. Turn to me, o maiden,
Pange atu au i o lalo, koa	I touch you below where is the
puyangia e te lauwala	scent of Pandanus fruit.
Yau i ki nei ke aku	Come that I may gird on your kilt
pelukia to titi.	Fringed with the wind-cut bark
Ki te makavenga o te wau tai	strips of wau.
ai te matangi	

Naku tukuna i te ulu punga,	I drop my line to the rock heads
koa wakayeke i te laulau	two hundred fathoms deep
Ke kai ake te palu-malau	There bite the palu-malau and the
ma te katakata	katakata fish
E lolomi ki te yinu kanaka,	Eaten with your rich taro pudding,
kao wai imu malie, e	your oven is delicious, richly
lemolemoyia au.	tasty.
E to muavaka na ta wakaya-	Your canoe bow is well cut and
yako, tama o te atu Yiva,	straight, oh child of the isles
E wakatangi taku poko ko	of Yiva,
te vai ayanga;	The well at the outer reef hears
E wakatau ki te wu ke tau	my sounding buttocks;
te mania, e tuki toku	Smooth and slippery you are as
puna ia!	the wu fish, my gasping breath
	pounds.

The Second Tila chant from the Tamanu Cycle (1)

Toko toku tino awi mai	Raise my body of fire from Yayake's
Yayake, Mumula e,	isle,
mumula!	It burns, ah, it burns!
Toko toku tino awi mai	Raise my body of fire from Yayake's
Yayake,	isle,
Mumula e, mumula!	It burns, ah, fiercely it burns!
Uluulu lamaina i Niue	Clustered torches in Niue
Kakaya e, kakaya!	Glowing red, ah glowing red!
Uluulu lamaina i Niue	Clustered torches in Niue
Kakaya e kakaya!	Glowing red, crimson red!
O uila kili e, e nokenoke	Your skin bright as lightning's
tenga,	flash, your fair thighs,

1. The second short chant from the Tamanu cycle is a vivid comparison of the desire that burns in a lover's body with the fiercely burning torches that consumed Te Nana's canoe, see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 402-405, category 116--analyst].

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--112 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 Pupula kiai lua oku mata,	Strain to them my two eyes,
To welowelo mukavakevake.	Staring at the flushed whiteness of your body.
E teka wua au i o yau	I slip away to your leafy bed
E tutipi niwi pati au,	Swollen, embracing,
Ki tu ulu kayo langi memelo.	Flushed like a crimson sky,
Tangi, tangi e e ia!	Sounding, ah sounding!
Tangi, tangi e e ia!	Embracing and sounding!

Third chant of the Tuyiyauola Cycle (1)

Alu, au, na wota ki o lunga te matou	I climbed to the top of the *matou* tree (2)
Ya wuli ai au kekeo mai te ulu o Tawiwi	I turned there, towering above the tree tops of the island of Tawiwi
Tu melo te weniu kalaka totokeye i to mua malo	Red was the bunch of *kalaka* seeds, scarlet before your malo front
Taitai au, koa niniwi e o koyi alongamanava,	I swoon, then relax against the creases of your belly,
Kakati te wainga na awukele,	Close the embrace and hot our bodies,
Kakala o nene pua wau,	Scent of semen, sweet as flowers of *wau*,
Omo ai au e tamawine.	I smear it over my maiden's body.
Ko koe te tane na takayia na nuku o te ika wainga	You are the man who visited Yayake, islands of many fish
Tele ma toku tino wano ko ngake,	Sail away with my body, let us go to the west,
Wuwuli taua i Tonganui, mamata i na nuku o Tonga,	We steer to Tonganui, visit the islets of Tonga,
Toi ma taku ulu puaka o na wanga o Tuyiyauloa.	I clasping the hand of my pig, (3) pig of the houselots of Tuyiyauola.
Ko tuyimate koe e wai mana,	You are like Tuyimate, that chief of magical power,
To ai te tane leoleka o te yau tawanga o Poike,	You were born the sweet-voiced man of Poike's distant cohabiting place, (4)
E konia vayia wakamananga, e to ko te ayiayi;	We embrace at the place of spreading thighs, where semen rain showers fall;
Talanga, e wakamata ia wawine,	Erect the penis, exposed the woman,
E tutuki ki te yau timotimo--	And embracing, my thoughts turn to tales of famous cohabiting places--
E kotinga welo i Timalea.	You cut me as *welo* bark is cut in the islet of Timalea. (5)

539 [These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]
533

1. Like the Tamanu cycle, the Tuyiyauola cycle of chants consists of three love chants and one shorter chant grouped together in the minds of informants because of the fact that they draw heavily on symbolisms and references concerning the story of Tuyiyauola, chief in the legendary land of Yayake. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 381-383, category 116--analyst.] The chant given here was composed by Panga, great great-grandmother of informant Veti, for the man Tetau. It is of great interest in that it is one of the few recorded chants composed by a woman in praise of her lover.

2. The *matou* is a foreign tree. It stands here as a sexual symbol for the male organs.

3. A favorite metaphor is to compare a lover to the beauty of a fat, well fed pig.

4. Poike is well-known in Pukapukan tradition as the custodian and leader of a famous place of cohabitation in Yayake.

5. An alternate name for the island of Nassau.

539 E ulu kumala unu i te va mai ngake	You are like the tops of kumala leaves picked in eastern places
Ni atua tangaloa e yaya	In our love, set apart and sacred as gods of the Underworld
E kilitia ngalo ko nuku ngalo	We will disappear like islands lost in the sea.
Te uila e nunui i te kili	Your skin is bright like constant flashings of lightning,
E kalipo kili e angalua	A skin irridescent and flashing,
Tipu, unu i to ulu tuyi	As of a delicious fish I cut and remove your head
Lele i to koyi tapu o Moula	The colors of your skin run like the tapu rainbow stripes of Moula the god
E taku ngaika kiliti i te nuku wai ya	You are my fish caught and pulled up at the tapu islet of Ko
Tatapu ma o Ulutakapau	As sacred, you, as the worshipping place of Ulutakapau (6)
Ko no takuake e tama ya	Where you stay praying, you, the holy one,
Wuwulu mai na yamatangi	For you, I brushed aside the entreaties of my lineage.
Na ola pe te wutu o Avayiki	You grew like the wutu trees of the land of Avayiki
Ya tulekina i te uluanga,	Tall trees but stunted in their branching,
Na ola pe te lau o te Tatapu	You flourished like the leaves of the tatapu tree.
Unu mai na pa koloa	I drew you safe from the enclosure of the man-eating koloa bird (7)
Te tane o na nuku kokoa	You, o man of the legendary mischievous islands to the east (8)

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6. A tapu place where the supreme chief of the island rested and consulted his gods.

7. The koloa bird was a man-eating demon killed by the culture hero Te Palo; see page 45.

[753] 8. Legendary lands to the east were thought to be inhabited by idle mischievous spirits who occasionally came to Pukapuka bringing with them epidemic sicknesses.

Wakatele yau ma te tino ika	You swam and came with the shoal of fish to my net.
E tapu lemoyi taku mea nei	A delicious food-gift for you is my body
Ika mai te va o Lautala	Brought to you from the wide spaces of the island Lautala.
Ko taku lava ta ko te tangata	My leafy lover's bed is cut by the man
Apo ma taku laukoe pala	Who brings me my knife of bamboo, (9)
Tatangi ngatata i te kilitai	Driftwood, sounding, rattling, washed by the water's surface.
Wakaulu ake ma toku manako	My mind is absorbed in you,
Ulu ki te lelei a te wawine	Filled by your beauty for women.
Ko no mai loto o Lulu-ipo, ko wakatalava i Longolau	We will live in Sweetheart-village, lie together in the island of Longolau
Wakawiwi ki te vavai mamake.	On a bed crisscrossed with pretty *vavai* creepers.
Tu mai ko wale ko te moana	You stand in the house under the sea
E tupilitia e Malokula, ni yoani no te tikitiki	Close by stands the god Malokula with his helpers, the small servant gods
Pole ai au ma te wua a tangaloa ngalu	Him I worship and all your group of *tangaloangalu* gods,
E aumanga una peva yiyika ko te ala o Malangatiale,	You, wearing your priestly head-dress of turtle shell cut straight as a line of Malangatiale's turtles,
E wakapa kaiyo ki ngalu. e tutuki ki te one mai Ko	Calling, "Turtles ho!" where waves break on the sands of Motu Ko
E takiwuliluaina te wonu.	Turtles of which you each turn over two.
E ayuye wakapaea io, kitea e toku newu ayanga.	Like drifted wood, seen by my minor gods of the outer reef.
Maneai taua kiai, puna mai koe tu ko te lepa	We stroll there; or you emerge, standing in the soil of the taro gardens close by.

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9. Following out the association of her lover with the islands to the east, the chanter thinks of the man as bearing a piece of bamboo in a complicated symbolism where the use of the bamboo as a knife is linked with the idea of the man's cutting into the woman in sexual intercourse. Further, bamboo cast up on the beach as driftwood and scraped by the waves over the coral beach, calls to mind the sounds made in coitus.

539

Pepelu ma toku ulu vayavaya	I girt myself with *vayavaya* grasses from the gardens
Wuli mai e tino kaikaina, wakataia mai,	Turn to me your lovely body, let us become as one,
Lulu ki lunga yongi wakatakaina to kili i na lelei lopa,	Moving above you, let me inhale and caress your skin, beauty of young manhood,
O te koyi o te vaka,	Beauty like the keen cutting of a canoe,
E kakala angaoti e malau,	Sweet scent like that of a *malau* fish,
E wuli ki lalo ki vevenu, venu pe te io o te tapotu	I turn below to your softness, soft as the eyeball of the *tapotu* fish
Wakapeke ai au, na valea, wakaluia mua koa mania.	I raise my buttocks, satisfied, I lower the slippery front of my body.
Na kai wakapi na wakakume,	Another came to you with rich food-gifts, favors,
Na patia, koa wetangi;	She you spurned, she wept;
Yoko ko te loloi, te malo yilu,	She brought you taro puddings, pandanus-plaited malo,
E ye wuli atu ai koe;	You did not turn to her;
Longo mai ki aku wakawitinga ia koe,	Listen to me who tells this of you,
E toku yana maniu, taulanga malo tala ki lunga,	You who are my beloved perfect coconut tree; girt in malo, you stand straight,
Wenake ma te tupu takatoa, na makeke tama o te atu ngake,	Body rising perfectly, strong man of the eastern isles,
E tali keinanga, e maloyi, manaki i to lulu kiai,	Guardian of your lineage, strong champion of the wrestling ring, on whom your village depends,
Lomia pokia mai lunga, e loa	You smash your opponents down, throw them from above, you who are tall,
E tai lapui yayae te lopa toyiliki	You blow down with one breath, tear apart, the tiny young men
Wai taku au matamatanga.	You take away my breath as I watch you,
Wuwuli te ngolo matangawie, wakalelei mako a te Yawea	Turn to me, o animal easy to look at, you who glorifies the chants of Te Yawea (10)

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[03] 10. An old name for Ngake village.

539 Unuwia ki mua, e ayaka, wakamalini vale tamawine--	Come to the front, o expert dancer, you whose skill causes maidens' secretions to flow--
Lalapa pe te ika matayau,	Broad you are as the fish of Te Auma's point,
E manu no te kauaua ya wakapopoti wulu malie,	Or as a bird of the sandy beach, fine feathers beautifully preened,
Pipi ko te tane, koa lelei,	Gloroious is your skin with its *Tinea* spots,
Tukia kiai te tini i te po, na wakatata e ulu uyi;	Struck there by the countless spirits of the Underworld, colorers also of your black hair;
Mumu i te lau o te tiniu, wakataukati manatua,	Over you buzz the hundreds of women, quarreling, jealous,
E wetuki veve ki o lelei	Hastening, running to your beauty,
Wunaia. Pe Wakatapukula o longo,	Hiding you. Yours is the fame of legendary Wakatapukula,
E ye lakaia tuku talatala i na kikino	Do not jump for them, do not allow them to talk, the ugly women,
Ni ta atua angaoti, e ye uyuia,	You are indeed made as the gods are made, none surpasses you,
Wakayila ki te kili uyiuyi!	You, whose dark skin flashes and shines!

A Man's lament for his Dead Cousin-in-Avoidance (1)

Unia te tupu tamawine, koa laoia ngalo i te ao--	Removed is the girlish body, choked to death, lost to the world--
Na ulu taku tangi tukapawua, to pukepuke i toku tino,	Filled with sorrow, I dance with grief, my body falling from side to side.

[535] 1. This is a lament (*tangi*) composed by Liliku of Matanga lineage in Ngake, for his cousin-in-avoidance (*wale atua*), Tuiloa of the same lineage and village. Between a man and his cousin-in-avoidance the strictest tapu was observed see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 259-263, category 116--analyst.] Ideology holds that between these two there is great sexual attraction which may under no circumstances be indulged in during life. On the death of one cousin-in-avoidance, however, it was permissible and indeed expected, that the cousin of the opposite sex would indulge in a violent frenzy of grief. This chant illustrates some of the very deep passion that gives reality to the cousin-in-avoidance relationship.

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--118 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539 I te longo kino na pa mai te matawenua!	Ah evil the news come to me from the point of the island!
E tuia mai koe la lunga, e tui toyina ko te ngutuala.	We take your body high-lifted, seized by mourners, it falls to the road.
To alaala wakamalili.	In a dream you woke me, shocked me.
To longo kino, mimia kiai o tangata.	Now your evil news gathers the crowding people.
Tukapa wua au ia koe; vayia io au pe te aku.	I dance, for you only my grief; I cut myself as bonito flesh is cut.
Yui ai to kili tauyala.	Would that I could follow your lovel skin.
Na wakatuyeina ko te yuaki--	Covered is your body with the tapu mat--(2)
Na to toku palo ia koe.	Stunned and stricken am I by your death.
Na ai te tama koa mate nei? Na Aloyiva te kula pupuni,	Whose is the dead child here? Of Aloyiva is the infant,
Loa ngalo i tama muli tuluma, koa unuia laoia i te amonga manu.	Lost from his treasure basket, (3) choked, removed from the bird-symbolled lineage.
Te aloa yopu wakatato, napenape ma toku kano manava,	Your love holds us chanting, your thoughts rise in my stomach,
E vayia io toku kili, koa taukulakula	I cut my skin, it is crimson red

[764] 2. The mat with which the corpse was covered during the mourning might not be removed. This was to restrain expressions of grief which would be increased many times by the sight of the deceased's features.

3. The treasure basket is an inadequate translation for the plaited receptacle in which a man kept his most valuable and cherished pearl-shell fishhooks; by metaphor the young girl is likened to a precious hook lost from its container.

539 Koko te toto ko te ngutuala, uluia te ala o te tupua,	Blood streams to the road, floods the path of the bush-walking mourners. (4)
Koa maeia te wui atua i te tupu o te tama wano kino.	Grieved are the many gods over the face of the child whose going is evil.
Koa maka au pa yulu ko tu mai loto o te ui,	I left the row of pandanus trees standing in the middle of the taro gardens,
Te leo kaka ki tau tane, to longo liaki ki te matangi,	Your voice calls to your husband, your fame is spread by the wind,
To pua matangi yau mayala, vayia niu inai au,	Wind-wafted scent of your flower makes my body a slashed coconut,
Ta wa inake toku manava, vayia ika ngalepelepe.	Cut four times is my belly, a fish broken to pieces.
Weto oku wonotanga ki lalo, tupeke mai te tangata wakaola.	My limbs fall to the ground lifeless, the people revive me.
Koa mate. Ke wano ai e yui wawine ni tali no au wangainga,	You are dead. Let me go instead, my life return gift for your feeding,
Na yelewutia wao a tuli, tuia mai koa takitakina,	Sick with your convulsions, jerking like a plover, you clung to me who lifted you,
Yapayapaina pe te tawola,. laulango o ulu kainga	Carried you from place to place, well wrapped by your relatives, like the legendary whale. (5)
Maeia ma to tupuakenga, i. taku kea kili tanetanea,	I was ravished by your beauty, your skin like my spotted turtle shell,
Ya wakaniti ma na aua o Tinilau	Like the shell of the turtle family of Tinilau (6)

4. Bush-walking along deserted paths was seemly for those going to attend a wake; passing mourners along the main village road made others uncomfortable at the sight of grief.

5. The reference here is to the whale of the story of Tuyiyauloa page 71.

6. According to some informants Tinilau was the owner of all the turtles in the sea and dwelled in some distant legendary land.

539 E tangi atu au kia koe--	I weep for you in my grief--
Koa unuia lele te angaanga a Lualo i tana uluaki tamawine,	Lualo, your father, ran from his work to his first-born daughter, dead,
Ya kawu lalo, vayi ki te kau ngalipayua i tana mata	Mourning, he covered himself, slashed himself with clam shells, grieving over the sun's face
La wuwuke ko te ulu o Paku	That once opened bright over the sub-lineage of Puk
Koa motu ko te la tautawa, tangowia e Loke i te ala,	You are lost like a day's end sun, taken by Loke on the Underworld's path. (7)
Ko nenewu ko te wale o Leva, ko ta i o wuwuta ki ai,	You are hidden in the house of Leva where her brothers-in-law, the gods, chant,
E wakaoli ai tona taokete, tupeke ko te mata matangi.	And dancing, grieve toward the many wind directions.
Yuaki wakamatauina to titi watu ki te laukie.	The gods keep you, grow accustomed to your presence, you, with your dyed pandanus kilt.
I taku no ia koe i te kino--	Without you, my life here is an evil thing--
Taku loimata lutu pe Taua i na po.	My tears drop like those of night-weeping Taua. (8)
Koa maka au tama ko te ao, ya taupili mai o muli--	My children of this world you have left, buttock-clinging children you comforted--
E yala i wea te mea koa mamiai koe?	What is the sin that has taken you from us?
Tanga lua inake toku ulu--	Once you made two wreaths for my head--
Koa wao ai loa au i toku wale atua	Now I go alone to my sacred house
Wai atu mo toku kainga.	To make there your remembrance for my lineage.

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7. A god of the Underworld who directed the spirits of the dead along the paths of the Underworld to the house of the goddess Leva.

[776] 8. A story fragment explains this adjectival reference to the goddess Taua. She wished to own a magical net which concealed everything over which it was thrown. The god Tamayei refused to give it to her, and Taua spent her nights weeping.

Lament for Watuya (1)

539 Ulu taku tangi vavalo ki ngake, e yau aliki,	Come, sing my chant, call it to the east, a gentle chant it is,
Maka te tanganga, tike te potu, ko takoto te niu wakavale,	Dropped is the fishing group, bare the sacred seat, left standing are feast-reserved coconuts, (2)
Ya tataku i o atua, ia Mataliki ia Tamayei	We prayed to your gods Mataliki and Tamayei
Ke wowo ake oku tupuna ma na papa ula o Kui,	To bring together your ancestors and the red-rocked god Kui, helpers in your fishing,
Ya wakatele ika mai ngake, e wetuki i aitu wangota ko te moana--	Fishing spirits hastened to sea to help you, fish swam in from the east--
E tane na apoapo matai, e kiai na wakayopu ki tua,	He was a man with already prepared snoods, though not yet gone to sea,
Ya tapena to matua i o penupenu mau mea,	Your father had made ready strong, permanent fishing gear,
Ya kumeia ona tope, ona kawilo uwi, e likolikowia	Fashioned were the *tope* hooks, the pearlshell *kawilo* hooks, tight-seizing hooks
E kumekumeia, te mate o te ave ma te kakayi,	Nicely polished, death for the *ave* and the *kakai*,

1. This chant is also called the lament about Mataliki and Tamayei because these two gods of Loto village are mentioned in it. It was composed by a Yato man, Vaipo, for his nephew Watuya of Loto who sometime previous to the first missionary contact sailed away in a European ship and later died in Samoa.

2. The group of young men who formed a fishing team to provide food for the older men has now lost one member; the sacred seat in the god house reserved for Watuya will now be unoccupied; coconuts round the cemeteries reserved for the feast which was to mark Watuya's assumption of sociological adulthood will now never be eaten. The following lines comment on the fact that Watuya was about to join the young men's fishing group. His father had prayed to the gods to help the young man in his fishing and had prepared for him a now useless fishing equipment.

539 Niniva te mata o te akavae, wakapoi, koa pipiki ngaleka,	Sharp-pointed was the barbed wakavae hook, tight-gripping at a jerk,
Ni makupuna tutupu a Te Upe	Descendants, these hooks, sprung from the first maker Te Upe (3)
Ko te tama na vayivayi manava, na wemiti wano ko te moana,	Your longing for the sea cut throug the hearts of your kinsfolk,
Te palo o Wetau, koa taki i taku uluaki na taumua--	Your death stunned Wetau, cherisher of you, his first-born-
Na mawiti i tana mata toki, newu te tuta, koa ye pi--	Thrown aside his adz, halted his work on the joinings of his watertight canoe--
Wenake ma tona matua tane.	You, the boy, who had sprung from him.

Chant of Boasting (1)

Koti ati i te ava no Panau,	Cut is the boundary of Loto and Ngake at the reef channel of Panau,
Te yae iatu i te tukutai--	Separated are the villages along the lagoon beach--
Ke tulituli aliki-tai	Let Loto men grope for the worthless aliki-tai fish (2)
Ke wa[illegible] ai au lavaya.	To prepare for their village feast.
Kinaki ki te namu o Uta;	Food complement of the mosquitoes of Uta;
Kinaki ki te pepe o Uta.	Butterflies of Uta to complement their taro.
E toai io to ulu, koa pakilakila!	Men of Loto have cut their hair, are completely bald!
I a!	I a!

3. By metaphor the fishhooks are considered to be lineal descendants of those famous hooks made by Te Upe who is reputed to have invented the Pukapukan barbed fishhook.

1. This is a chant of insult (tila) sung by the people of Ngake village after winning a contest to determine boundaries of the village.

2. Loto village controlled very poor fishing grounds, hence the taunt that for a big village feast Loto must be content to eat tiny worthless fish like the aliki-tai along with mosquitoes and butterflies as a food complement for the taro instead of the fat deep sea fish enjoyed at the feasts of Ngake.

A tila in praise of Motu Ko (1)

539 Malama te ao, ka malama,	The dawn whitens, it is light,
Yelea, yelea, yelea toku vaka nei	I tie, tie, tie my canoe at Motu Ko
Au niu e, au talo e, au ika e! au wonu e,	I gather coconuts, taro, fish, turtles oh!
Yiliyili atu pe awa tena oku atu i e.	The people ask whether anything remains for the late comers to get.
E loloi talo no Ava e,	Loloi pudding of taro from the island of Avalau, (2)
Wai e Pana aumai kai ai te Yawea,	Prepared by the women of Pana, eaten by the men of Te Yawea,
Na wakamalu ina likoliko,	Soft is their likoliko taro pudding,
Koa olo wala o na wawine o Yayake e.	Flavored with pandanus is the olo pudding of the women of Yayake.
Ya wakawiwi, wakatikei, to tauanga i te tawatai o Laka e,	Naked we embraced, embraced on the beach of Laka,
Wuli mai koe, e puaka e,	Turn you who are as a pig to me,
Wuli atu au, e tavake e,	I, a tropic bird, turn to you,
Ka tuvali io, ka tuvali e,	We will move up and down,
Ka valea koe, ka valea koe.	You will be satisfied.
Puya te kakala o te yei tu,	The scent of your flower wreath is wafted to me,
Puya te kakala o te takataka,	The scent of your dried coconut oil comes to me,
Melo mai loto wakatauyeu ki na lelei,	Red is the oil mixed with beautiful seeds,
Ye kalaka kula, ye wua tipi,	Countless kalaka seeds, innumerable tipi seeds,
Wuti, wuti kula, wuti melo,	Flowers from the banana, the red banana, the yellow banana,

1. Tila is the type name for this chant which dates from the time of the regent Tuiva. It boasts of the richness of the food resources on Ngake's islet Motu Ko, not neglecting the opportunity to include reference to the desirability of Ngake's women.

2. This is the island on which Te Nana found great abundance of taro during his visit to Yayake. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 402-405, category 116--analyst].

539 Wutia te kai kia malie!	Delicious is the food gathered for me!
Malamalama te tawa ki Ngake,	Daylight breaks in the eastern sky,
Malama e e.	It is light.

A tila of the expedition to Motu Ko (1)

E vananganananga te pule,	The guard of the islet gives the announcement, (2)
Te koyo o Te Alo-lauina	Husking sticks are placed on the canoe named Te Alo-lauina
Ka yolo te vaka e, ka yolo	The canoe will speed along, speed along.
Te toki o te toli kauwi	Ready is the adz for cutting pandanus keys,
E payi wano ki te ayanga,	Our canoe is a vessel going along the outer reef.
Tuta, wano ki te Nukuloa	Stopping, then going on to Motu Ko.
Viovio ko te iki tawia, iki na,	We erect the anchor sticks, (3) anchor the canoe,
Na lele loa ki loto, yoka i te niu mata.	Rush into the islet, husk ripe drinking nuts.
Wakanau ake au: malie te kikokiko,	I sing praise: sweet is the coconut's flesh,
Tama o te ulu wutu.	Child from the grove of wutu trees.
Onoono atu au ki te pakayau ngongo,	I watch the wings of the noddy tern
Ko tipitipi ki lalo i te kcanga wua,	Dipping low over her nest of eggs,
Lele au i te ata, tango i te mulimuli ngungu.	I run under its shadow, grasp its grunting tail.

1. This short chant records an expedition made by Ngake villagers to their reserve islet Motu Ko to gather food and catch birds.

2. The food reserve is controlled by the village acting through a guard composed of village members. When a village council decides to take food from its reserve, it is the duty of the guard to announce this fact and arrange the particulars of the expedition. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beagleholep.p.38,category 116--analyst].

[501] 3. To anchor a canoe in shallow lagoon water a long stick is thrust into the sandy bottom behind the outrigger boom in such a way as to keep the canoe from drifting.

Chant for a Fishing Competition (1)

539 I taku vaitili maka ki tua:	My chant is thrown to the back of the island:
Yinuyinumaki i na kotinga o te wenua,	Well guarded are the boundaries of Ngake's lands,
No Ngake ia Tuapuka,	To Ngake belongs Tuapuka reef, back of the island,
No Ngake ia Te Akau-loa,	To Ngake belongs Te Akau-loa reef,
No Ngake te va o Te Itu,	To Ngake belongs the space of the reef Te Itu,
No Ngake mo na uluulu akau peia?	Does not Ngake therefore own all the outer reefs?
E momoe ai ona tupele, ona mulivaka, ona lopa,	Here sleep helpful spirits of old men, mature men, young men in their prime, (2)
Tau, tautau na malo e e, ki te lui ma te wanga,	Hung are the fishermen's ~~malos~~ with lui and wanga fish, (3)
Tau, tautau na malo e e, ki te patuki yiva	Hung are the malos with patuki yiva fish
Li, li na ulu ki te unaliki,	Wrapped are their heads in wreaths of unaliki fish,
Ta na malo ki te taiva,	Their malos are made with taiva fish,
Pepelu ki te yiku o te ta	They are girded with the tails of ta fish
O matou kili ni tui lawi,	Our skins are strings of lawi fish,
O matou kili ni tui lenga,	Strings of lenga fish cover our skin,
O matou kili ni tui wuakau mai tua a!	Covered with wuakau fish from the back of the island!

1. This chant called a vaitili is sung by the winners in a competition for the catching of the reef fish patuki. [133] [103] Tuapuka is part of the encircling reef at the back of the island. Te akau loa is the long reef running from Yato to Motu Kotawa. Te Itu is the reef between Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole page 18, category 116--analyst].

[775] 2. The spirits of dead men are thought of as constituting an army of helpers who gather the fish of the sea and bring them to the hooks of Ngake contestants.

3. As the fishermen bring their catch back to the village, they string the fish about their waists and around their heads.

Fishing Chant (1)

539 Wakaoli io koe, na ulu ko Malokinuanua,	Dance you, who have the spirit of Malokinuanua (2) the god within you,
E ta ko te timu, na lueie o ala matangi,	You were conceived in squally weather and so changed the path of the wind,
Akaanowia oku tino manu, e kului ko tu matavaka,	Come wind, cool my bird-like body, a *kului* bird perched on the bow of my canoe,
E wakawaoa ki te tutuku, te manu tino nui o te moana,	*Tutuku* birds are my crew, the large-bodied birds of the ocean.
Tu mata ki ai te kakai ki na wotunga a kili a yua, moe lelepo,	The albacore stood to watch the skill of him with water-wet skin, whose sleeping place was ocean dirt,
Ko no ko te peau watiwati ni uyu no na timuangi,	Who lived on white-capped waves, went out when heavy winds blew,
E tautapake kokoto te leo, tauvalo kia Malokitelangi:	Mellow the voice praying to Malokitelangi:
"Yuatiake la to moana, langa ki lunga tau wangota,	"Open wide your ocean, raise up your fish for me,
Mimia ko te pu o na ngutu, ki te waiti o te kilitai,	Wash them to the deep waters of the reef shelf, to the sub-surface waters,
Ki te papa o taolo te yua, tu te newu kanomoana."	To the ocean bottom where waters move back and forth, where stands the dark, deep sea."
E avake tau ika la lunga e kokoti tali i te pakupaku,	Raise your fish high, it nearly bites off the teaser bait,
Taki te ulu o te kauyele.	Lift the loop of the noose. (3)
Tutapa tu au	Standing I call to my crew

1. This chant called *tangitangi* is sung in praise of the skillful fisherman for whom it was composed.

2. This is an alternate name for the god Malokitelangi who is mentioned in line seven. The rainbow (*nuanua*) is closely associated with this god.

3. Throughout this chant the fishing method referred to is noosing. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole p. 69, category 116--analyst].

539 "Newutia io yelewuti ke to la ama! "	"Caught fast! Pull up hard so that it falls to the outrigger side! "
E tane tupu kalapalapa, e ivi nunui, e lima makeke.	I, man grown strong, with large bones, powerful arms.
E miti nau, na wawangu ake, wowo ko te keketunga o te po,	A dream of mine did rouse me to prepare my canoe at the ebbing of the night,
Yau to atua teteki mai, e kave ko to vayi tonga.	Your god had come to fetch you, to take you to southern spaces.
E anga nou e na wakapono ai lua vayi.	Your fishing was discussed by men of the two Ngake lineages.
Ma na newu o te matoyia, e kiliti tau ika taeyao:	Helped by attendant spirits of the deep ocean you pulled early morning fish thus:
Tuki ake ke tete i te yua, e avake loa	Clubbed the fish hard so that it shuddered in the water, raised it up then
E tatao ke la lunga wua, langona e te pane e Tane.	Pulled it completely out, an exploit heard by the head of Tane. (4)
Wuwuli i lunga o te kilitai;	Teh fish squirmed on the surface;
Tu, tu te yiku o te matawula,	Erect, erect stood the tail of the large albacore,
Ko ati ma to ave-kakai.	Covered the water with ave-kakai fish.
Akatu te ao ununui, langa ki lunga to tino toka,	A heavy squall arose, you raised your body of stone to face it,
Ava ko te moana e poalele, mailiina te ala peau.	Some go to an evil-smelling sea, are nauseated, but you swing over the roughest ocean road.
Ke wano maku pulu ika, e ati ki te ave o te tuava;	Once when I fished, a school of tuava fish covered the waters;
E wakamayia ko te katea, e ika koa lopa la lunga,	Twisted my noose on the port side, and the fish jumped over it,
Koa wotu koa tauwiaelo, koa kai lalao i te kupenga,	Came to the surface, ate bait and chum, ate pressing down on the loop,
Koa lele ma te ane wakatau, e nawa no tau taitangata.	Then rushed off with the chum, worthy opponent of the best fishermen of your birth class.

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[776] 4. This reference is obscure as Tane was not a member of the Pukapukan pantheon. Informants could not explain this single occurrence of the god's name.

539 E lulu ma te kauyele ki lunga, e ta ki te akayiku,	Pulled up another fish without releasing the noose pole, struck it on the tail,
E tu pilitia e Yawenga e manoatia e Matanga.	While the god Yawenga stood by, god worshipped by Matanga lineage.
E avake loa te tui loloa, yula ki lunga.	Again, Yawenga raised for me a long line of male turtles, their backs exposed,
E wenake i lalo te mataweu, te ika talau te taepu.	Largest green turtles risen from below along with large fish and small.
To vaka ko pae matangi tona, e kanapa ko te wua Aliki,	Your canoe was drifted by the south wind, canoe glistening like the fleet of Aliki, (5)
E yau i ona wua tikou, te atua uli o te ayanga.	Whose fleet came quickly on high waves, helped by black god Yawenga of the outer reef.
E pupua i te ala la uta, e koyi i te ala koyingalu,	I was so swift I raised dust on shore paths, cut through striped sea paths,
Na uta ki te ayuye moana, na yele ki te akula panoko,	Loaded my canoe with flotsam of the ocean, noosed the swordfish,
E vaka palata mi te timu;	Placed in my canoe a thresher shark caught in the squall;
E lakau pae ko te matangi, lulu na atua wawine.	My canoe was as wood drifted by the wind, gathered by the female gods. (6)
E momotu io te kaungutu vaka, te papayiva	In my strength I could break off the bow of a canoe, tear apart wreckage
E vivio na yulu ki te waoa.	Hammered, fastened together with iron. (7)

5. Informants thought this referred in some way to the sailing away from Pukapuka of the man Aliki who was exiled because of his supernatural powers. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole p. 408, category 116--analyst].

6. Lazy men too timid to go fishing in heavy weather were called female gods (atua wawine). Only male gods were interested in fishing.

7. The Pukapukans knew of iron before white contact. Driftwood and wreckage cast on the ocean beaches were burnt to ashes and the nails often used as drill points.

539 Lulu tu ake io wowoakenga, ni longo nou wotunga ika.	I stood proudly among gathered fishermen, great my fame as an expert.
E avake loa tea te moana, wetike wua loa te tupuna	Fish rose whitening the sea, exposing indeed the ancestors
Lulu mai na lau talake loa	Gathered with their hundred retainers
Akapono ke pono na ika.	Met to gather together the fish for my hook.
Koa tuku ki aku na wole, aku taomia te atua ya.	Given to me are fishing victories, I press away gods sending bad luck.
Wai malo na velo te yila, mumula mi ko tu uluanga	I prayed to the god Malokitelangi, god wearing a malo that hurled burning lightning that stood overhead
E kalapa i to matoyia u e, i na newu o te moana,	That flashed to the dark ocean. I, to the attendant spirits of the sea,
E tataku i taku vai matala, avatu maku akatetea	Spoke my prayer for good luck, carried my gift to the god.
Yopukia au mi lunga o te vaka Utamanu,	Fortune seized me on board the canoe named Utamanu,
O te uyo o Ngaliyeyeu ma to taokete Te Awuawu.	Standing at the bow, protected by the god Ngaliyeyeu and your brother-in-law god, Te Awuawu.
E lokiloki toku waoa na wili ma toku lulu vavave	I prepared a crew chosen from my village of strong men
Ya takilitia toku vaka, e kae moana e telei!	Men who could whirl my canoe around, no ocean big enough for our journeying!
Ya takayia te akau ki Tima ma te muli toka.	My canoe encircled the reef as far as Tima and the last rock of Motu Kotawa.
E yele mi tu yele witu, wuwuli ona ika kailopa,	I noosed standing, noosed seven fish, then turned to the fish wary and cunning,
Ue ia e te atua mala, ya kotia wua taku matai.	Fish chased to me by the god of ill luck. It bit my snood right off.
Ko wotu wa mai aku yelea i taku uluanga palatimu	Then rose four small pala fish noosed to make my good catch
Naku vayia vivili i te liu o Telekino	Which I beat shuddering on the bottom of my canoe, Telekino.

539 Yele au ke pupu te moana, tutuki pe popo wotunga,	I noosed till the sea foamed, pounded the fish dead like an expert food pounder,
E ulaki ki taku lau papa, koa akakayi taku lualau,	Loaded my canoe with my hundred pala, almost two hundred pala,
Taku ika amua ki Waletoa.	My fish were first to be unloaded at Waletoa. (8)
Wuwulu ki toku kili ika liki, pakupaku ki te tala o te eve.	I washed the fish scales from my skin. My teaser bait was the fin of the eve fish.
E longo i wea mea nei? E longo mai na kau mamao	Where did my fame carry? It was heard by people far away
Ko inu ki te yua o te moana, kai ki te vale o te pakipaki,	Of how I drank the water of the sea, ate the slime of the Portuguese man-o-war,
E vivio ai taku woe, na kililiti ki lunga tu e ayioayio moana,	Plunged my paddle, pulled up, and raised an ocean water spout,
Kakalo ki te yolo o na ngutu, ki te akapula a te lui-ave;	Could look at the swish of ocean depths, at the rising of the lui-ave fish; (9)
Taki ona takatakai wanaga, yala i te watu te wangamoana,	Of how a school of wanga fish came a wangamoana loosened the sinker,
E maka taku tope wua alake, veve ko te newu tata i te wao--	But I threw down my hook to the fish, jealous spirits pulled away the line--
Kavea ona wakatapatapa wano koa mate!	I made an incantation and the fish went to the surface, dead!
Lolominga:	Addendum: (10)

8. Waletoa is the open space on the lagoon frontage of Ngake village where fishermen landed their catches to be counted after a fishing contest.

9. This fish is mentioned in this context because it lives in the deepest waters and is only occasionally seen by those who spend most of their time deep sea fishing.

10. The remaining lines of this chant may or may not be sung with the main part of the chant. They are regarded as an optional addition probably added by the man for whom the chant was composed to make sure that all his skills and exploits were exhaustively recorded.

539 Koa likowia e te kawilo, e wua, e tili, e takitaki,	Fish were caught by the hook that I, skilled, threw, then pulled in,
Koa yao ia likoliko, yao i te wua a Yeki ma.	Hooks excellent for catching, excelling those made by the fishing fleet of Yeki (11) and others.
Liakina aku kotia lave te leke, ke yulu piki	Display my cutting of the shank-knob that the hook fastens tight
I te kalokalo o te ave, te ipo o Totoloa,	In the upper jaw of the ave fish, sweetheart of the god Totoloa, (12)
Wuwuli i lunga e te mayui a Te Alangaoa,	But turned on the top of the water by the favorite son of the god Te Alongaoa.
E tili, makake ko te vayi tonga o Tangaloa;	He threw and cast his line in the southern spaces of Tangaloa's ocean;
Toaki makave to papa kokowi ika,	Open wide the rocks that shelter fish,
Lulu ai na atua wawine leowia e Te Alatapu ma.	Though the lazy men gather at this fishing ground it is guarded by Te Alatapu and other gods.
Yau te yaunga o te vale moana, te ika e aku ulakinatu,	Smell of ocean slime came with the fish brought by me,
E avake na puke i toku wale, ko taku pakupaku ika malie;	The catch served in my house, my left-over bait fish was delicious;
Kai tuwonu toku waoa, kayiva te kili ma te piopio	My crew ate greedily, passing over the kili and piopio, fish usually eaten,
Na livaia au e te malau, te wowonga no na tupuna,	I was surrounded by malau, best eating fish; Ah, good fortune from my ancestors,
Wotu mai Ngake e!	Making my fame known in Ngake!

11. Yeki is a man remembered only for his great skill as a maker of fishhooks.

12. For the connection between this god and fishing, see story page 28.

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--132 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

Chant for a Fishing Contest (1)

539 Akaolia, tuki ki te vaka,	Paddle in rhythm, beat the canoe sides. (2)
E ta te lalau, koa tuolo,	Sing the chant, moving back and forward,
Ni wua lakau pasa io, tilina i te va i ayanga,	The canoes, like driftwood, thrown up onto the reef,
Taupuke ki ai ko te tiniu,	Caught, held there by the helping women,
Wuliwuli ia na tino, koa kanapanapa,	Who turn to the men's bodies, glistening, shining,
Koa lata koe ko te kainga atawai!	You are submissive, o man, to the lineage generous to its sweethearts!
Moe au mai loto o toku wale,	I sleep inside my house,
E miti taku miti ki te awiawi,	Dreaming my dreams in the evening,
Moe wakamiti totongi ma te matoyia,	Sleeping, dreaming of enormous fish of the deep ocean.
Tu, kauia o kaveinga;	I rise to con over the stars;
E wenake Te Manu ma Te Toloa molunga o na Takitutolu,	Dorvus and Delphinus have risen above Cassiopeia,
Koa kaleka mo na towunga.	Exact is the time for starting.
E utu te vai, tuku ki lunga o mulivaka,	Fetch the water, place it in the canoe's stern,
E yayaki kia Te Matakiate, akayiku ai Tumulivaka,	Pray to the god Te Matakiate, petition Tumulivaka,
Taulia ki te manu mai mua	Count off the crew for the lifting bars
Pe koa towu mo te waoa,	To see whether there are enough,
Tutu ki te yiki, e ikiiki atu to ki tai,	Stand at the carrying poles, carry the canoe place it in the water,
Na wakatato ko te mulivaka, tautapa kia Te Alongaoa;	The canoe captain beats his thighs, praying to Te Alongaoa the god:

1. This chant is called a lalau. It is sung at the feast following the conclusion of an intervillage fishing contest.

2. The first six lines describe the evening return of the fishing contest fleet to Ngake village. The women help to draw the canoes through the shallow lagoon channels to the beach. In the excitement of victory it was formerly common for sexual license to occur at this time.

539 "Tali ake to vayi ki tonga,	"Calm your waters to the south,
Tukia ngalepe te pupuni o Toutapuaki,	Pound to pieces Toutapuaki's barrier, (3)
Ke yuatiake ngalepe ake, te ika loa tele makalo."	Until rent asunder, break it that the long-tailed fish swim swiftly to Ngake's canoe."
Makatia te popoa mai muli,	Drop the bait from the rear,
Onono ki te akawuwulanga,	Watch for the coming of the fish,
Ye kutainatu ke kokolu, onoono e na ule kaina,	Don't lower a twisted noose; watch, o my men, (4)
Ki te yele kokoti motu i loto.	Loop the fish squarely in the middle.
Koa yeke tenei kainga, koa kupenga mamao mai tua,	This lineage is leading, having netted fish far out to sea,
Koa taki yele valu, yele witu,	Each man has noosed eight or seven fish,
Ulakinga te ika wakawowotu,	Carry ashore the fish of various kinds,
Yau ki to aumatavaka,	Come for your shares.
Ya akaolia te piliume tutakalia te alo kapanga,	We swung at the rowlocks, (5) encircling the corners of the lagoon,
Wawa i te atu lalau,	Proceeding to foreign lands,
Koa waki ia yeke i katea, e laumama ma to yoa!	A caught fish pulled to the starboard side, but friends, hoping to take it from us, were sorely disappointed!

[776] [226] 3. Toutapuaki was a god of Yato village who was thought of as maintaining in the ocean a barrier which would keep the fish from Ngake canoes so that Yato men might catch them all and win the contests. The men of each village prayed to their own gods to keep the fish away from their opponents' canoes while sending them to their own canoes.

4. For a discussion of the term of address here used by the canoe captain in steadying his canoe, see [reference obscure--analyst].

5. The reference to rowlocks is metaphorical only. Pukapukan canoes were always paddled. By association with the method of propulsion seen on European boats, the chanter sings as if the fishing canoes in making the customary circuit of the islets had proceeded to far off lands.

539

Chant of the Wrestling Ring (1)

Apo, apo i lunga a,	Lift, lift him on high,
E akaui tuki pui a--	Throw him down flat--
Mawela tu tulivae.	He sprawls on his knees.
E tui kaokao, lolomi,	Take him by his malo, press down,
Taka ki te tua,	Swing him on his back,
Yapai, maka ngutu maka vae	Lift and throw mouth to the ground, legs to the ground
Lapuia e te vave o Ngake,	Blown down by the strength of Ngake,
Na vivio i loto o te malae.	Standing firm in the middle of the ground.
Mawaki te launiu-	Broken is the coconut leaf--
Pangulungulu te leo.	Rumbling low are the many voices
Akaangawia to nawa a!	Face your challenger to us!
Mai lala, yaeyae!	The challenger from leeward! (2) Ah, torn to pieces!

The third tila chant from the Tamanu cycle (1)

Ko te titi o Pana, e mea mawakiwaki--	The kilts of Pana's women (2) are easily opened--
Ka lolomi ki te papa	Pressed to the ground,
Ya newutiai au	Thrown by me
Numi, numinumia lua ia lulu	Rolled over and over by the rival villagers,
Wawati na lima ma na vae,	Broken their hands and feet,
Wakaakaia, ngalepe na ngutu ma na mata,	Trodden and smashed their lips and eyes,

1. The four following chants are tila, sung to celebrate a village victory in a wrestling contest. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole page 369, category 116--analyst].
2. That is, from the leeward village of Yato.

1. This short wrestling chant is properly a member of the Tamanu cycle of chants. It is inserted in this context to show how easily the Pukapukan slips over from triumphs in one activity to those in the realm of sex.

2. The women of Ngake village.

Wakataulia wuake i lunga	Look from above, o two villages
Tau mea e winako ai koe--	On the strength you boasted of--
Yau, yaula ke aku avatu koe la lunga	Come, come now, that I may take you
Ko te tele o toku tino tangata	On the journey of my human body
Na tau ki Yiva ma Niue momoe ai,	Landed at Yiva and Niue, sleeping there,
Na tau ki Yiva ma Niue momoe ai!	Landed at Yiva and Niue, sleeping embracing!

A Chant of the wrestling ring

Ta taku tila,	Shout my chant,
Aka to tawa,	Kick to your side,
Wuwuli ki mua,	Turn toward the front,
Wuwuli ki muli.	Turn toward the back.
Wakatato ki te payu,	Beat the drum with fast rhythm,
Wawao ko te kakai.	The people jump high in their dancing.
Tangi te launiu ngatatatata,	Coconut leaf decorations rustle,
Newutia te pawola, koa leka.	Loud is the beating of hand against hand and thigh, fine is the sound.
Wuli tawa te kainga nunui,	The great body of dancers turns sideways,
Na wakatatawa na malatea,	Side by side, as numerous as a school of malatea fish,
E na! Motu ki mua, i a!	There! We have broken to the front with our victory, i a!

A Chant of the wrestling ring

Taku unu tika mai te yulu, na matiti to i Tongaleleva,	My chant is a dart of the south-west wind, (1) flying through the air, falling in Tongaleleva,

1. According to the Pukapukan idea, gods controlling the winds are thought of as fighting among themselves, hurling darts or spears at each other. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 311-312, category 116--analyst].

539 Koa yao loa na vave o Te Yiva ma te Yake,	Defeating the champions of Yiva and Yake, (2)
E wuwuli ia pau na vaka, kopikopia.	Capsizing the canoes, crushing them to pieces.
E kokoti ai taku lakau, koa ave, koa tomoemoe,	I cut my log for a canoe, the wood fits well, lies straight,
E vaka a wu taku mea nei	My canoe is a woman's sexual organs
Pe Wue na ye mai lalo.	Confused by its beauty am I as Wue, bewildered by the many islands of the west. (3)
E kokoti ai tona atu mua o vavae ai tona atu loto	Cut off his first row of dancers, separated his middle row
Koa yayaka a!	Dance, dance together!
Motuyia na titi, tala e, tala e, tala na malo makatia--	Torn off are the men's leafy wreaths, untied and discarded their malo--(4)
Ka amo te payu, ka wakalele!	We will raise the sound of the drum, beat it well!
Ka nenewu tutuli na talinga,	Beat it till the ears are deafened,
Opotia ke lulu ki te nawa.	Sound the wooden gong till the village gathers.
Ka wakangaolo ko te atu mua, tiakina ke tupeke kiai,	The front row dances forward, waits there to raise their arms,
Opotia loa ke pukupuku, ke manatua ke tane--	Gather till the group of dancers in full, if you desire men--
Na mavete te unu, ke liakina, i a!	The chant is finished--the chanters display themselves, i a!

2. The names of these legendary lands are metaphorical substitutes for the names of Ngake's two opposing villages, Yato and Loto.

3. A reference to the extensive voyages in the eastern and western seas of Wue the great Pukapukan chiefly navigator (see account pp. 73-75).

4. For a note on the general license that often prevailed after sporting triumphs see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole p. 289, category 116--analyst].

539 A Child's juggling chant (1)

Ta matou kionga nei i Yeu-manao	In our playing water games off the beach at Yeu-mamao
I te ipo na Lameka nei	The sweetheart of Lameka comes there,
I te tupu lelei, tenga patua	What a pretty body she has, struck were her thighs
Ya konikoni e Enoka	By the embrace of Enoka,
Kakole la ia Aumuna, Koyimatamai, Walapekamai.	Aumuna got nothing from the women Koyimatamai or Walapekamai. (2)
Taku poteka potekateka,	I spin my shell top round and round,
Taku kelinga pipi o tai	I scoop up shellfish on the beach,
Taku kao mata awiawi	I pick a flower bud to open in the evening.
Wakaake ko lunga o Matala	I climb to the top of the hill of Matala,
Ko te ulu tiale i Te Malama.	To the grove of tiale flowers at Te Malama.
Kiteai loa taku kauwi ngapeipei o te wala ia no Wainuku	I find ripe fruit on the pandanus tree of Wainuku--
Taku kaka wua lengalenga na tau i te niu na Kolia.	My ghost tern is nesting on its yellow eggs in the coconut tree of Kolia.

[524] [857] 1. This chant is sung by children as they skillfully and rhythmically juggle small immature coconuts. Note that the chant describes the daytime activities of a child as he wanders about the islet.

2. As the children play on the outer beaches little escapes their attention. On their return to the village they take mischievous delight in composing and singing little songs describing what they have seen, often to the extreme embarrassment of would-be secretive adults.

524 4. Thumbs, proximal to index strings, draw back from the ulnar side proximal index ulnars.
5. Thumbs, distal to proximal index strings, proximally into distal index loops.
6. Navaho thumbs.
7. Drop distal index loops.
8. Indices distally remove thumb loops.
9. Thumbs distally into proximal index loops, draw back from ulnar side both proximal and distal index ulnars.
10. Middle fingers, distal to distal index radials, proximally draw back proximal index radials.
11. Navaho thumbs.
12. Drop little fingers. (Figure 16.)

Te-ponaunau (meaning unknown).

1. Opening A.
2. Slip index loops over wrists.
3. Thumbs proximally draw back little finger radials.
4. Little fingers proximally draw back thumb ulnars.
5. Each hand separately: with opposite hand remove double palmar strings, hold while wrist loop is slipped back over thumb. Replace palmar strings across palms, behind little and index fingers.

524
● 539
[533]
6. Thumbs proximally into loops formed by index radials and little finger ulnars. Turn palms out (figure 17) and move thumbs in and out (stretching in ulnar direction and releasing radially) to the rhythm of the chant (All syllables are short and the whole is sung quickly)

Te ponaunau, te ponaunau, Te potia ua, te potia ua, Ua lele, ua lele, Poloiti polo lau mea mea Aleuei, aluei, pa na, pa na E tu o o ie e, motu e taiti e,	Meaning obscure
Motu la Manuyiki laua ma Lakawanga.	Severed are they, Manihiki and Rakahanga.

As the last line is sung, the thumbs are released and the figure opens. (Figure 18.)

524 Katatuna (Mosquito-larvae).

1. Opening A.
2. Middle fingers proximally remove index loops.
3. Indices proximally remove thumb loops.
4. Right thumb distally on index radial, rotate back to position.

524 6. Repeat 2 and 3.
7. Left index finger proximally picks up right index palmar string.
8. Drop right index loop and, gently stretching right hand out, wiggle the rat (dropped loop) (Figure 44)
[539] along towards the left hand to the rhythm of the chant:

Te kiole e, ata ngingi,	O rat, good at crying "Ngingi",
E totolo koe i te taupoto,	You crawl on the roof's ridge,
E leio koe ki te tala lewu,	You jump down to the gable end,
Koa patua koe e te tangata,	You are killed by the people,
Koa tu to paepae watu.	They erect your gravestones.

Te-la-palepale (The-setting-sun)

1. Opening A.
2. Drop thumbs.
3. Index fingers proximally remove little finger loops.
4. Thumbs distally draw back index proximal ulnars.
5. Thumbs distally draw back index distal ulnars.
6. Middle fingers, distal to index distal radials, proximally draw back index proximal radials.
7. Navaho thumbs. (Figure 45).

Moamoa (name of a coral organism).

1. Opening A.
2. Drop thumbs.
3. Indices proximally remove little finger loops.
4. Thumbs, proximal to proximal index strings, draw back from ulnar side proximal index ulnars.
5. Thumbs, distal to proximal index strings, proximal to distal index strings, draw back from ulnar side distal index ulnars.
6. Middle fingers distal to distal index strings proximally draw back proximal index radials.
7. Navaho thumbs. Turn palms out. (Figure 46).

Te-wua-ya-valu (The-fleet-of-eight).

1. With right hand, loop string across palm and back of left hand ulnar to thumb, then wind hanging dorsal string 6 times around left hand and fingers, each succeeding loop distal to the former. Place final dorsal string of 6th loop between left ring and little fingers, and hold thus.
2. With right hand, pick up end of hanging dorsal

524 Te-ko-lemu-yengiyengi (The-yellow-anus).

1. Position 1.
2. Indices proximally draw back little finger ulnars.
3. Thumbs, distal to index radials, proximally draw back little finger ulnars.
4. Navaho thumbs. (Figure 54.)

● [539] Work thumbs and fingers in and out to the rhythm of the chant:

Te ko lemu yengiyengi e,	The yellow anus,
Te ko lemu yengiyengi e,	The yellow anus,
Titiko i tua, titiko i tai,	Defecates at the back beach, defecates at lagoon beach,
Te ko lemu yengiyengi e.	The yellow anus.

Tava (meaning unknown). Played by two people.

First player:

1. Opening A.
2. Drop little fingers.
3. Indices proximally remove thumb loops.
4. Thumbs distally draw back proximal index ulnars.
5. Thumbs distally draw back distal index ulnars.
6. Middle fingers, distal to distal index radials, proximally draw back from ulnar side proximal index radials.
7. Navaho thumbs. Stretch right hand forward, bring left hand inward to body, turn both palms up and stretch figure. (Figure 55.)

Second player takes up figure by process called tui (to sew).

8. At end of figure held by first player's right hand, insert little fingers distally into two outer triangles (held by first player's thumb and middle finger).
9. Pass thumbs distally into and through next outer triangles and proximally up out of next outer triangles.
10. Insert little fingers into two outer radial loops held by first player's left thumb and middle finger.

First player removes all his fingers. Figure is Tava. (Figure 56.)

First player proximally inserts thumb and index of each hand into each of two outer loops of figure held by other players's thumb and index of right hand, second player dropping his hold on those two loops while taking hold proximally of each of the other two loops with thumb and index of each hand. (Figure 57.)

Together the players count: tai tava (one tava), lua tava, tolu tava, and on up through 10 tava, both players with indices

524 distally drawing back central "diamond" outer strings, releasing thumbs, and thus reproducing the same figure, Tava, for each count. Then with their hands players raise and lower the figure to the rhythm of the chant:

● [539]

Pa pa talinga ti lele,	(?)
Pa pa talinga ti lele,	(?)
Te wale o Matano	The house at Matano
E kau lua te pola	Has twenty thatch sheets
Te wale o Matano	The house at Matano
E kau lua te pola.	Has twenty thatch sheets

The figure is then laid on a flat surface and opened out to give the figure which resulted in movement 7, by picking up distally the distal of the two sets of loops on the dextral side of the figure and carrying these to the left. The next player now repeats movements 8 to 10, the sewing process, and the game is repeated indefinitely.

Taku-pu-lele-lua (My-hole-becomes-two).

1. Opening A.
2. Ring fingers proximally remove index finger loops.
3. Middle fingers proximally remove thumb loops.
4. Right thumb, distally on index radial, rotates back to position.
5. Left index finger proximally draws back right thumb palmar string.
6. Right index finger proximally removes right thumb loop.
7. Right thumb distally on index radial, rotates back to position.
8. Left thumb proximally draws back right thumb palma string.
9. Thumbs, distal to intermediate strings, distally draw back little finger ulnars.
10. Little fingers, distal to intermediate strings, proximally draw back thumb ulnars.
11. Indices distally into triangles formed by index radial and ulnar strings with palmar strings.
12. Middle fingers distally into oblongs formed by middle finger radial and ulnar strings and palmar string.
13. Ring fingers distally into oblongs formed by ring finger radial and ulnar strings with palmar strings.
14. Drop little fingers and thumbs. This is the first "hole". (Figure 58.)
15. Drop indices for the second hole. (Figure 59.)

Te-pu-a-loto (a canoe name).

1. Double the string and loop it over thumbs.
2. Indices distally draw back thumb radials.

159 flowing everywhere. He became terrified of the blood. And awakened in fear.

756 Medicine men (yila).

787 Yila were sometimes rogues: : The story is told of Levi,
776 that he was fed by his aitu [malicious spirits], and never went fishing himself, these aitu bringing him all he needed. At other times, presumably when the aitu were slack on the job, Levi would watch for a woman taking food to another village. He would intercept her, lupe before her, and then in a hysteria inform the woman that his god ordered him to take away the food from her. The women, frightened of the power of Levi, and of his god, would readily obey. This he did, no matter for whom the food originally destined, whether for secular purposes, or whether it was being taken by the owner to the wale atua of her kainga to feed the priests therewith.

776 Gods- Their aid to men:

775 The following story of Milimili relates the help of Tangata-
539 no-te-Moana: Milimili was a man of Matango po [a paternal lineage]. He died, and his wife was deeply sorrowful for her husband. She wept and wept for him, and then called on her family gods, Te paki tua, and Te paki alo, (atua lauwawa, or servant gods of the major god) to help her. She left the dead body inside the house of mourning, and walked round the outer beach calling on her gods to go to the underworld and bring back to its body the soul of the husband. These two family gods went to the Po [Underworld] and consulted with Tangata-no-te-moana about the matter. Tangata made further enquiries but found out that Milimili's soul was already caught in the mat of Leva. The gods sitting round the house of Leva had already sensed the existance of a strange soul, and were telling Leva to kill the soul so that it could never return to the upper world. Leva was sorry for the soul and was temporising with the gods. Just then Tangata appeared and to divert the gods' attention from the soul of Milimili, he asked Tulikalo to play on his wooden gong. Tulikalo played once, and then stopped. The gods asked about the soul. Tulikalo played a second time, but still the gods kept asking whether the soul was entrapped. Tulikalo played a third time, but still the gods were not satisfied. Then Tangata asked Tulikalo to play long, hard and furiously. Tulikalo beat his gong so long and loud, that the gods were deafened by the soul and began to go blind also. The house of Leva began to quake and tremble with the sound waves vibrating against the walls. Tangata went outside the house and began to push at the walls. This caused them to shake more and more, so that the gods got alarmed and began to rush outside. As they did this, Tangata

776 stole inside again, and whisked the soul of Milimili out from
775 under the mat, threw it outside the house, and there the two
539 family gods picked up the soul, rushed up to the upper world, and put it back inside the body of Milimili. His body turned brown again from its death color of white; he began to breathe again. Then in the midst of his sorrowing relatives, he sat up and told the story of his adventure, including the mako which he heard in the Po. The mako goes: Tulikalo e, Tulikalo e......etc.

776 Te Maungatu is a kainga god of Yamaunga po of Yato. Two
539 stories are told to show how he has the power to protect the people of his kainga [i.e., po]:

Pakai was a wata (priest) of this god, and he was sent to Motu Ko to watch the outerbeach for the arrival of turtles coming ashore to breed. To do this he had to spend the night on Motu Ko alone. All the malicious spirits, aitu, on Ko decided to kill him and eat him, since he appeared to be without protection, and was violating the sanctity of the reserve. Pakai heard voices about him as the ghosts came crowding around, but he could see nothing. Soon as the ghosts came closer still, he heard voices say: "Tau laulau, tau pala," "get ready your food platter your knife (to cut up this intruder)." At once Pakai realized he was in danger of being eaten and cut up for intruding on this motu. He prayed to Te Maungatu, and as the ghosts made a charge at Pakai, Te Maungatu dived under the feet of the ghosts and pushed them aside. Through this space, Pakai was able to run to the beach. The ghosts followed him anxious not to let go this intruder, but whenever they appeared to be hemming him in, then Te Maungatu came and made a break in the circle for him to escape through. Thus Te Maungatu defended him until he could run along the reef and reach again the village, when, of course, the ghosts vanished at the sound of many human voices.

Tuyama was a wata of Te Maungatu. At the time of the seismic wave, Tuyama disappeared in the flood waters, and after the waters subsided, Te Maungatu looked for his priest. He came to the beach opposite Niua, and saw there the dead body of Tuyama, with all the flesh and skin decayed, only the bones and sinews holding together. Te Maungatu took the skeleton to Kotawa, and put it in the hollow of a big puka tree near the outer beach. He cared for the skeleton, and gradually, it grew new flesh and skin, and came to life again. Thus Te Maungatu has a wata again in this world to represent him before human beings of his kainga.

776 The following story relates the way that Te Awuawu and
539 Ngaliyeyeu were always ready to help the people: On one occasion a canoe from Loto went fishing along the alai of the lagoon. The crew became tired, hungry and thirsty, and the canoes were drifting down on Motu Kotawa. The crews were too hungry to paddle back to Wale without refreshment, yet as the men from Yato were fishing on Kotawa, and as they also had a palenga pule guard on the island, it would be impossible to paddle up to the landing beach, land and get nuts. The crew therefore decided to pray to these two gods, Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, to come and occupy the canoe, while the crew swam ashore and stole some nuts. Soon, several birds fluttered down from the air and settled on the canoe, telling the crew to swim ashore while they looked after the canoe. The crew jumped over the side, and when they were a little distance from the canoe, the birds changed into humans, who held fishlines, over the side. The crew swam to the back of the island and came back soon with nuts. When they came near the canoe, the birdmen changed back into birds, and flew away when the crew was safely back in the canoe. It was all done in such a way, that the Yato guard on shore did not realize that the human crew had swum ashore. All they could see was the canoe with the crew fishing; they did not realize that the fishermen were bird-men, and not the real crew of Loto.

775 Wotoa and Te Yoa..their visit to the Underworld. [see 1:
539 Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 326-330--analyst.]

The account of alaekonga has these variations:

1. The two men asked to visit the Po by their god who appeared in a dream to them and extended a personal invitation. The place on the reef where they went down was called Te ava o veka, which is near the place called Te ala o kawa.
2. Malu was guarding his niu tree. He climbed up, got one nut, husked it, gave it to them to drink and eat the flesh (the mata end to Wotoa, the muli end to Te Yoa). The shells were then given back to Malu who fitted them together, threw the nut up in the tree again, where it joined on to the tree as a perfect nut.
3. Both men saw the gods playing games, and introduced these to Pukapuka.
4. The gods made mako when they found that Leva had a soul trapped in the mat.
5. Only Wotoa came back to Pukapuka. Te Yoa found things so much to his liking that he asked to be allowed to stay in the Po. His wish was granted and he stayed there afterwards.

524
177 first at the tuku in the ala. If he hits both tuku, he may try for his opponents' tamou and if he hits this also, then he wins this. If he misses the first time, then his opponent shoots with his tamou.

The toy bow and arrow is used as children's sport today. The bow is made with tua niu bound together with continuous thread of lauwala. The bow string is uka. The arrows, ti, are tua niu. The bow is wena. A heap of puapua seeds is put in the center of the ring. Children sit in a circle and fire arrows at the seeds. Each seed impaled by the arrow counts one point to the child who shot the arrow. No game was played during our visit, but was described thus by informants.

181 Miscellaneous.
888 For the man, it is important to marry and have children, that the paternal descent line may be continued. For himself and the next generation, a man likes to have a house, one or more canoes. He may sow sexual wild oats in abundance in his youth, and this applies also to the women. But in old age, the ideal is to live to a ripe old age, and then to retire from active work, to be surrounded by a crowd of children and grandchildren, and to spend one's days in active talk with one's contemporaries, directing the activities of the lopa group.

539 [See 3: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 65--analyst.] As the men advance with the canoe cortege outside the reef, mako and wave the paddles, the following mako is the one that is sung:

E lapaki te woe alua ma no
Kateli ka kina yai yo yio
Ke te ta ko yio yio
Ke tangi te titi oyio yio
Ke tangi te lawa oyio yio
Koa lelei ka koa lelei ka
Taku pupune ia......

621 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 221--analyst] In the case
591 of matrilocal residence of the male, or even in the case of customary patrilocal residence, the man may wish to tau [affiliate] in the village of his wife. In the former case, residence takes care of itself, but in the latter case, he will continue to live patrilocally, but join his adopted village for play, copra making, food divisions, etc.

244 Today there is a tendency for the people to pull and eat the talo before the plant is fully mature and ready to eat, often

285 filled by the open ola and the tuluma of lau wal pakapaka.
177

225 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 69--analyst.] When the turtles are seen joined together in copulation, men swim out and surround the turtles. One man dives down underneath the turtle, and comes up to grasp the foreflippers, kapakapa. He pushes the head up, the rear parts are depressed, the man puts his legs around the turtle's body and holds it. His companions come up, stretch the foreflippers apart and tie them to a stick. The turtle is then lifted into the canoe and brought ashore.

526
776 Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu were the originators of the game Lukipoko, and through their teaching it to Wotoa and his friend, the game was introduced into Pukapuka.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 308--analyst.] Atua punupunu [principal gods of the paternal lineages]: When asked the meaning of the word punupunu, informants say, "round". When reminded that the Pukapukan word for round is pukupuku and that punupunu is the Rarotongan word, then informants hedge and say the classification must be atua pukupuku. When asked to explain the meaning of such a classification, they say they do not know, whether it might have referred to a round stone that represented the god or whether to something else, informants simply do not know.

782 When the aliki [chief] or the wola [executive] go to pray to [the goddess] Taua, each takes with him lau niu or lau wuti which he ties round watu Taua. "This is to make the stone look pretty, glad, and happy so that it will listen receptively to the prayers of the men." No food offerings were ever given to Taua, only the wrapping of leaves.

539 Native texts.

The Revenge (Literally the Oven) of Two Girls. [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 379-380, category 116 or 539--analyst.]

Ko te Imu o Lua Tamawine. No Tonga laua. Eia lua o laua kainga: ko Manawune ma Tangaloa. Wo loa lua tamawine ia ki Yayake. Wokake loa Junga o Na Tua Wuewue. Ta mako loa laua. Wakalongolongo loa te wenua ia i te leleka o laua leo. Wo loa ia te wenua ia ki a Tuyimate. Ekiiki mai loa ki te

539 konga e wakalelekai lua tamawine ia. Tuku loa ki lalo i a Tuyimate. Ko la lunga lua tamawine ia. Koa wakalakalakai i lunga o Na Tua Wuewue. "Tuyimate, e, koi kakalo ake ki lunga." Kakalo atu la i a Tuyimate ki lunga. Makulu loa lua tamawine ia ki lalo. Pau te mate.

Po loa te po. Wo loa lua mauli ki Tonga ki te konga e iai lua o laua kainga tane, ko Manawune ma Tangaloa. Wiwiti loa ki lunga o te papanga o te wale. Wetangi ai laua, na mauli: "I a maua na pau te mamate." Kakole la lua o laua kainga. "Tukuatai? na pau; tukuatau, na pau a wuwu?" Otiake. Wetu loa lua o laua kainga, ia, pelu na malo, liko na lakau, yuaki te vaka, wiwiti loa la ki lunga. Woe loa laua ki Yayake. Ya wakawiwi wua la latou taumua ma Tokaipole ma Taupeloa.

Oko laua ki Yayake, mumula loa laua i Na Tua Wuewue. Otiake, wo ki na yau. Teia na yau, ko te yau o Poike, ko te yau o Niutao, ko te yau o Tane, ko te yau o Tapungaye. Taumua loa ki te yau o Poike; wakawiwiake ma Poike, patu i a Poike, mate. Patu ma te tangata pau. Wo ki te yau o Niutao, wakawiwi ake ma Niutao, patu ake i a Niutao, mate. Mumuluake ma tona yau, pau. Wo ki te yau o Tane, wakawiwi ake ma Tane, patu ake i a Tane, mate, mumuluake i tona yau pau. Wo ki te yau o Tapungaye, wakawiwi ake ma Tapungaye, patu ake i a Tapungaye, mate, mumuluake i tona yau pau. Mumulu atu la i te wenua katoatoa.

Longowia loa e Tokaipole ma Taupeloa. Lomamai loa te tokalua. Wakawiwi ake latou wakawou. Talatala loa i a Tokaipelo ma Taupeloa. "E ye maua, ya wakawiwi matou i Tonga. Ka tele tatou."

Tele loa. Wano atu na toe tini ki na toe wenua, wano atu na toe tini ki na toe wenua. Yau loa la te tini e iai i a Tokaipole ma Taupeloa ki Pukapuka nei. Oko mai la te va i Tonga, koiai te motu, ko Ko. Tau loa latou i Te Aumaloa. Talatala i a Taupeloa ma Tokaipole, "Wakapili taua ki te wenua nei. E wenua ngutu kino i a Yayake. E talatalai e te vaia ia te ngutu o Yayake. Ka wakatawa taua ke tawanga." Wo loa laua ki te muliwenua ki lalo, koia oki, ko Matawea tona ingoa.

Nono ai la te tini ia i Te Aumaloa. Wakatupu angaanga loa latou. Teia a latou angaanga na wakatupu: ko te keli ni, ko te kape vai, ma te poki niu.

Wanau ai loa Te Vave ma to i Te Aumaloa, e tamatane. Teia tona tupunga, na lele la lunga pe te manu. Ka ni ona pakayau. Teia tona tu; ke lele la lunga, ka wano ki te moana puke tauanga wonu, puke inao atu, puke inao kakai, aumai la ki te tini o te wui Yayake, kai ai latou. Teia a latou toe

539 angaanga, e wai likoliko ma te yami.

Tupu ai loa te kaitangi o te tai wawine, ko Kumawawine tona ingoa. Wano loa ki Matautu, uwi ai tona ulu ki te ketekete. Kakau loa la tai ki Matawea. Tala loa ki a Tokaipole ma Taupeloa. Teia tona wakamayeinga, "I a kolua, onoono wua ma te tamavale. E kowea, e tai vave na tupu, e vave ko lele la lunga. Teia ona toe tu, ko wano ki te moana tango wonu, aumai atu, aumai kakai." Iliili atu i a Tokaipole, "Koia?"

Tu loa i a Tokaipole, tango loa te yuvelovelo, velo loa ki te langi ke kitea mai e Taupeloa ya i te moana, ya wangota. Kakalo mai la i a Taupeloa, koa kanapa te yuvelovelo a Tokaipole. Mea loa ki tona waoa, "Ewea la te mea a toku tangata ia, e velo ai tana yuvelovelo ia? Ka wo tatou ki ngauta. Koiai pa te mea na tupu." Lomamai loa latou ki ngauta, ko no i a Kumawawine.

Iliili atu te tokalua, "E pewea te tu o te vave ia? E penei pe te ngongo nei te tiketike?" Kakole la i a Kumawawine, "E kole, e tiketike atu." Kakalo atu la, "E penei pe te kaka ia?" Kakole la i a Kumawawine, "E kole." Onoono atu la ki te kaka ia ko lele loa la lunga. Mea loa la te wawine, "Eke, e pe na." Tango loa i a Tokaipole i te yuvelovelo, velo loa, ke oko ki te kaka ia. Otiake, patu loa laua i te wawine, ia, mate. Teia te mea na patu ai laua i te wawine ia, kae wano wakawou tala i a laua muna.

Nono ai la laua. Oko ki te toe ayo, wo loa laua ulu ta laua tionga e mate ai Te Vave na wanau i Te Aumaloa. Kitea loa ta laua tionga. Teia te tionga: E ama. Kali loa laua ke tai ayo kinokino, tukituki watitili, lapalapa uila, uaua. Otiake. Wo loa laua tatao i te tini o wui Yayake, koa wakatu wakalelei. Lolomi loa laua mai Te Ala o Matiku. Oko atu ki te Ivi i Mawuke. Watia loa te ama lai e te tai tangata vave. Ya tangi ai ma te tamaiti, "Tioa mai taku yami." Kakole pe, e wakailo tukipo. Tu ai loa ki lunga te vave ia na watia i te ama, "Wo! Yayake, te tukipo." Alai loa te tangata.

Wo atu la i a Tokaipole ma Taupeloa ki Te Vave na wanau i Te Aumaloa. Kitea loa ona. Lele loa la lunga. Tulituli ai loa e Tokaipole ma Taupeloa. Wuliwuli la Te Vave ia, ka lele ki na wenua. Wakanikolia mai loa e na mana a Taua. Lele loa la Te Vave na wanau i Te Aumaloa, la te ayanga. Tulituli la i a Tokaipole ma Taupeloa la lalo. Yokatu a laua yuvelovelo, e ye oko ki lunga, ko la lalo wua. Oko atu ki te konga i te alai o Palaoa. Iliili loa i a Palaoa ki a Taupeloa ma Tokaipole, "Yau i te kokoa, ko lele teia tangata la lunga." Talatalatu i a Tokaipole ma Taupeloa, "Tenei to ola." Lele loa i a Te Vave na wanau i Te Aumaloa, oko ki tai o te ava, ka

539 lele ki tokelau. Velo atu la te yuvelovelo a Taupeiea, tautonu loa ko te ponaponavae. To loa Te Vave na wanau i Te Auwalea ki lalo.

Lulu mai la te tangata. Talatala loa, "Ewea te mea ya lele ai te tangata nei? Koi vayia io." Vavayi atu la, e mangavalu te watu manava. Tapai loa ma tona ingoa, i a Watu-manava-nui. Tapai oki ma te ingoa o te konga na lo ai, ko "Te Wulumanu a te Tokalua." Kave loa i a Watu-manava-nui tanu i te kava. Oti ai.

The Fight in Waletoa. [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 389-90, category 116 or 539--analyst.]

Ko te tala o te Taua i Waletoa. E wakapononga na te aliki ma te kau wowolo, ma te wui tane o te wenua nei, takatoa. Eia ta latou talatalanga;ka wakatai te wenua, ka lulu tai. No te vaia o Tuliayanga na wakapono ai te talatalanga nei.

Wo loa te wui tane takatoa talatala i Matano. Pono loa te talatala. E tokavalu te tane o Ngake e kiai na wo ki te wakapononga ia: e tokalua te aliki, ko Wehoo no Matanga, ko Tawaia no Muliwutu, ko Titoko, Yeutaka, Aveave, Kaveu, Takatakai, Taonge. E kiai latou na popole ke wakatai te wenua. Ya mea latou ke nono i na lulu e mai e nono ai nei.

Kali loa te wui tane ke womamai te kau ia. Na oti te tataki te kupenga o Te Laupapa e te wui tane i tai o Waletoa. E kupenga wakamoemoe i na ngakau o te wui tane, ke awe tutupu ni manako tauyulayula i te wakapononga. Kali ai te wui tane ke womamai te kau tokavalu e ngangalo ia. Koa mea wua te wui tane i te mea koa ye womamai te kau ia. Onoono mai la te wui tane mai Matano. Koa matalaka mai lunga o Waletoa. Mea loa te wui tane, te la pe kua lele ki tai o Waletoa. Kakalo atu la te kau tokavalu ia, na takina te kupenga o Te Laupapa, te atua o Muliwutu. Lele atu loa i a Titoko, e tane Muliwutu. Yayae loa i te kupenga. Kakalo mai la te wui tane mai Matano ki te kupenga wakamoemoe o Te Laupapa na yae la e te kau ia.

Mea loa te toe kau tane, "Awe [illegible], [illegible] wua pela, ke tuki wuai na vave, kai wangaia loa e tangata." Onoono atu la ki te tane povi ia ko lele atu mai Waola, ka wano ki te wakapononga ia. Ko Moeno te ingoa o te tane ia: e aliki no Matanga. Ke onoono mai la ki Waletoa ki te kupenga o Te Laupapa na yaea e te kau tokavalu ia, Illi loa i a Moeno ma te patu atu i te kau ia. Tela tana patunga: "Na kai pula lautape, wakakino wenua nei; na yaeyae loa i te kupenga moemoe o Te Laupapa nei." Ma te yaloyalo atu ki tawa, tango

539 loa ma te watu maene, kamu loa i te kau ia. Ke onoono mai la te wui tane na lulu i Matano, kakole la te toe kau wui tane, "Wai! Koai te la ngakau mate? Te la te atua yuki." Kakalo atu ki a Titoko, koa aka mai. Take loa i te papaulu. To i a Moene ki lalo. Mate loa.

Ke kakalo mai la te wui tane na to i a Moene ki lalo, mimia mai loa ma te wotangi o na ngutu, "Te atua yuki." Panenu angaoti Te Watu.

Apo lakau mai loa te wui tane, welele mai loa. Ko lio te kau tokavalu nei i te malae i Waletoa. Wakatau kamu atu loa ki te lakau. Kamuloa te wui tane, ka yiva wua. Ko te tokavalu ia la, kae o latou tangata loa ke mate. Matataku loa te toe kau o te wui tane, potopoto na ao o te toe kau. Wekake te toe kau ki lunga o na wale nanai. Ko te tokavalu nei la, kae o latou tangata ke mataku. Te la la ya pau te pakia, ya wakaleleilia e to latou atua o latou konga ya pakia ya newutia e te wui tane.

Lele mai la i a Tawaia, te toe o te tokavalu, la lalo o te wale ia. Wakalongo atu la i a Lunananga mai lunga o te wale, no Tawaia te leo ia. Wao loa mai lunga o te wale i a Lunanga [sic] vavayi loa i te ulu o Tawaia ki te kaio; matule te ulu. Ko Tawaia e taina no Lunanga. Eia te mea na vavayi i a Lunanga i a Tawaia; e kiai i a Tawaia ma ya tala i to latou manako ia ki a latou ma te toe kau o Ngake.

Wuli ake oki Te Laupapa, te atua o Tawaia ma, kokopi i te ulu ya matule o Tawaia, - lelei. Lele oki i a Tawaia wakalele i te wui tane, ke oti le te vayianga o te ulu o Tawaia ia. Wakatau newu atu loa te wui tane latou latou wua. Ye wuwuli atu loa ki te kau tokavalu ia, vayi wua loa ko te tautonu. Kamuloa te toto ula ki lunga! Kamuloa te kau ya mamate tali ngangalo i te toto o te tangata. Kamuloa oki te wui tane malamalaiti tali pau toe tokolewu wua. Yau la te kau tokavalu ia, kae o latou tangata na panakia.

Ke oti la te taua, nono ai la latou i na toe ayo i muli mai. Wakapalangia loa te keke o Titoko no tana yayaenga i te kupenga o to latou atua, ko Te Laupapa.

Tuiva [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 395-399, category 116 or 539--analyst.]

Ko Tuiva e tama na Taonge, te toe o te tokavalu o Ngake. E Matanga tona Po. I te vaia la muli mai o te pule pae. E vaia onge aliki. Na mate i a Tuliayanga.

Ko Takitini, e tane Loto no te po i Tua, ya wakaunga e Tuiva ke leowia te mata i Utupoa, no te kau e wo ki ayanga, e

539 ulakanga mai ki Ko. E vaia yongeyonge. E kiai na tu lelei te wenua. Ko tokalewu oki te tane o te wenua; na pau i te pule pae.

Wo loa na tama a Tuiva tulituli i ayanga. Onoono mai la i a Takitini koa lomamai mai ayanga. Lele atu loa i a Takitini, topetope i na papaulu, tutuli ake ke wo ki wale. Kakole la i a Takitini, "Na mata o na toyeyeu." Womamai loa te kauliki ia, tale ki a Tuiva. E kiai ya mea i a Tuiva, E taina oki nona i a Takitini. Kona oki na tukuna ke leowia te mata i Utupoa ia. E ngutu tamaliki oki.

Oko loa ki te toe ayo, tutuli oki e Tuiva ana tama ia, "Tiai kotou e nono wua? Kowea tatou, koa wiakakaia nei. Tiai, e ye wo ai ke yi a tatou popoa?" Wo oki te kauliki ia ki ayanga. Kitea mai oki e Takitini. Wengatu oki i a Takitini. Vayi yokayoka i na lauate ki tana lakau. E kiai la na yoka tika; ya wakamataku wua ke awe wo wakawou. Wetangi mai oki te kauliki ia ki a Tuiva, "I a matou ya vayi loa e Takitini, yokake i o matou ate ki tana lakau." E kiai oki i a Tuiva ya wakalongo ki na talanga a na tama ia. Ya manatu oki pe (?) ana manatunga mua.

Oko ake oki ki te toe ayo. Tutuli oki i ana tama ia, "Tiai kotou na nono wuai wakawiakakai? Na ye wo ai ke yi a tatou popoa?" Kakole la te kauliki ia, "E ye papa lava matou. I a matou koa kili kino i a Takitini." Kakole la i a Tuiva, "Tiai i a Takitini ka mea wuai i a kotou? Awa ni wakamatakunga wua i a kotou." Kakole ana tama ia, "E kole lava, ko vayi tika loa i a matou, ngalepelepe."

Oko ake ki te toe ayo. Wo loa te kauliki ia; onoono mai oki i a Takitini, koa matala tu, ka wo ki ayanga, wo atu ki Ko. Lele mai loa i a Takitini ki te kauliki ia. Ililli loa kiai, "Kawo kotou ki wea? E na topakakava ia; na mata o na kakaia." Kakole te kauliki ia ki a Takitini. "E kole la, matou ko Tuiva na unga mai ke yi a matou mea." Kakole la i a Takitini, "Kowea i a Tuiva? E motu koia no kotou, e kai wuai kotou. Niniko kotou. Awe totoko kotou. Ka vayia kotou ngalepelepe." Topetope ake e Takitini i na papaulu, tutuli mai ake ke womamai ki wale.

Wai loa ta latou tinonga wakawotu. Womamai loa latou, wai mai ma te talatala. Oko mai ki Te Walatapepe. Kakole la te toe tamaiti o latou ia, "Wakawaialala la koe, e Wakitula. Ko koe e minai i a Tuiva. Wakawati te lima ma o vae, ke oko tatou ki te konga e iai i a Tuiva, tangi loa koe wakataetia." Oti ake latou te talatala, lulu loa latou i na lima ma vae ma te tino o Wakitula ki te kili vavai; ke tapa la ai konga na kamutia e Takitini ki tana lakau, ke wano i a Tuiva patu i a Takitini. Otiake te lulu i a Wakitula, amo mai loa latou. Ke

539 pili mai la latou ki te konga e no ai i a Tuiva, tangi loa i a Wakitula, kaka ma te leo ki lunga, "Awei, toku lima na wati ia ma toku kaokao na pu ia, ma toku vae na wati ia. I te tinga! Amo kotou wakalelei; awe luluwia."

Ke wakalongo atu la i a Tuiva no Wakitula te leo. Kakalo a tu oki lua ona mata, ko tautau te lima, ko lulu na lima ma na vae. Kamuloa i a Tuiva tete to ma te palo. Tu loa ki lunga, tango loa ma te lakau ma te tao. E kiai na iliili ki te kauliki ia. Manatu loa i a Tuiva ko Takitini na patua, no na talanga a te kauliki ia i na loe ayo. Mea wua mai te kauliki ia ki a Tuiva, koa lele ma te lakau, "Tau mea ya wakaungai koe i a matou kai teia." Lele atu loa i a Tuiva. Ko no i a Takitini i te va o Utupoa ma Te Motu o Te Tali. Kakalo mai la i a Takitini ki a Tuiva, koa lele atu ma te tao. E kiai ya iloa e Takitini te mea na lele atu ai i a Tuiva ia. Yaula pe no te tionga wakatomua wua a te kauliki na mea ki a Tuiva. Oneono atu i a Takitini ki te tao a Tuiva koa yoka mai mai lunga ona. Wakaeke lao e Takitini ki tana lakau. Takayala te yokanga a Tuiva ia, e kovi wua i a Takitini. Lele loa i a Takitini.

Tulituli mai loa e Tuiva la te ngayu o Te Kalele. Wao loa i a Takitini la lunga o te ngayu. To la te toe konga. Yoka mai loa e Tuiva mai muli ki tana tao, makeke i te kaokao o te tua. Tango ake oki i a Takitini i te tao. Unu ake, maka ki a Tuiva. Lele loa i a Takitini ko Watumoana, ya no i Te Newu. Ulu loa ko te aloalo. Lele mai loa i a Tuiva, wakaanga loa ma te tao ka yoka mai lunga. Kakole la i a Watumoana, "Ewea tau mea? Na mea wuai koe? Koa oti wua. Na oko mai oki ki aku nei. I a koe kua ye wakaete mai i aku." Kakole la i a Tuiva ki a Watumoana, "Kaleake koe, koi kaleake, kalei la e kiai na wakaete mai i aku maku kokovi." Yoka loa i a Tuiva i a Takitini, makeke. Mate loa i a Takitini.

Tapi la Takitini na wawuli ki a Tuiva. Kei, e ye mailonga pe koai te tangata o laua ka tukino, e kovi i a Takitini malohi ma te wua. No tana patunga wua i a Te Ki ma Kaleva i Uta, wakavaleleiai loa te manako. Yau oki i a Tuiva na ye wawuli ai oki ki na meanga a Watumoana. Ya ana iloa e vave i a Takitini, no lai na wumaki ai loa i a Tuiva; na ye wai ete ai.

Oti ai, wangatu atu la i a Tuiva ki tana wale ki ana kokoti ia, ko lelei pe; ni ngutu wua pe no latou. E meimei, "Te ngutu takia mate e te tamaliki."

Oti ake te mate i a Takitini, wano loa i a Watumoana ki te kau o Yate, ka wo latou to i a Tuiva. Ko Watumoana, e tama Matangi no te wakaoaoa i Angialaia. Kia na ingoa o te kau o Yate; ko Uikale, ko Vakaua, ko Vakauli, ko Puyaka, ko Te Kelo, ma Watumoana, tama Ngaiio. Talatala loa latou i te

539 awiawi; teia ta latou talatala, ka [illegible] latou [illegible] i te wui tane o te wenua nei ke [illegible]; ma latou te [illegible] o Pukapuka. Teia te toe talatala a latou, ka [illegible] latou ki a Tuiva, [illegible] te tane vave i te vaia ia. Ka wakamuli atu ai ki te wui tane. Otiake latou te talatala i te awiawi ia. Wo loa latou [illegible], pepelu ma o latou malo, [illegible] ma latou lakau te kauvae pala, ma na toe meatu a latou.

Wengatu atu la i a Uikele ki te [illegible] wale ma Matautu. E wawine i a Matautu na Uikele. Kake loa ki lunga, [illegible] i ana mea. Ko moe i a Matautu i lalo. Te loa te kauvae pala ko na aloalo o Matautu. Kakole la i a Matautu, "[illegible] wea au mea e mea na? Ni po no te kakai?" E kiai i a Uikele na [illegible] mai. Mayala wua loa i a Matautu i loto o tona manako, "E wea la te mea a te kau nei?" Oti ake na mea a Uikele i a te mea, leio loa ki lalo, wano loa ki te lunga e wakaluluu ai latou. Ko Uikele ke teka wuatu ki talanga, ko Matautu oki ki tatou o tulaua wale. Teia te mea na [illegible] i a Matautu, "[illegible] wo mo te kau nei to i te kau wui tane." E kainga wakama oki nona i a Tuiva. Yau oki i a Katinga, te wawine a Tuiva, e taina tika nona.

Wano loa i a Matautu ki Matala, ya no i ai i a Tuiva i te vaia ia. E kiai na wakapili ki te wale, ya tu wua mai latou. Ya tilitili watu wua mai ki tona o te wale. Ko momoe ia Tuiva ma Katinga ko te lowi talunga o te tangata. Ko Tuiva e kovi moe alaala, ko te moe o te vave. Wakalongo atu la i a Tuiva ki na watu e ngatata ia. Wakaala loa i a Katinga, "Koi tu atu ake koe pe ni wea na mea e ngatata ia." Tu atu loa i a Katinga onoono, "Kakole." Yau oki i a Katinga ki loto o te [illegible] wale. Kakole i a Katinga ki a Tuiva, "Kakole pe." Wakalongo atu oki, koa tilitili mai na watu. Mea oki i a Tuiva, "[illegible] oki e ngatata ia. Tu atu ake." Tu oki i a Katinga onoono. Kakole oki i a Katinga ki a Tuiva, "[illegible]! Kakole." Mea oki i a Tuiva, "Koi yaale atu ki [illegible] na!"

Ko te angaanga a Matautu, e [illegible] ki [illegible] ko na mea e tu mai i a Tuiva, no te mea e kainga wakama. Onoono atu i a Matautu, ko Katinga. Wakakite loa kiiä. Mea loa i a Matautu ki a Katinga, "Koi [illegible] ake ki te [illegible] wui tane na, i ana ka toe e te kau o Yata."

Yau loa i a Katinga, tala ki a Tuiva, "[illegible]! i a [illegible] ka toa e te kau o Yata." Wakalongo atu i a Tuiva. E kiai na wakakolekole. Tu loa [illegible] i te [illegible]. [illegible] loa [illegible] te [illegible]. Lele loa ki tona taina, ko Kiliko. [illegible] la ki a Kiliko, ko wakaleleka te lua; ko [illegible] [illegible] ma tona [illegible] lapa. Kakole la i a Tuiva, "[illegible] ko [illegible] te [illegible], te [illegible] e wunaia mai nei. [illegible] tona ka [illegible] e te kau o Yata."

Wakalongo atu oki i a Kiliko ki te [illegible] a Tuiva ia. Tu oki

539 i a Kilika ki lunga, mea loa ki tona wale lopa ia ke womamai tawia a laua lakau taua. Tutu loa tona wale lopa ia, pepelu i o latou malo. Mea loa i a Tuiva ki te toe tokalua o latou ia ke wo ma ana yaeke i te po, ke tai o latou oyo, ke kinaki ai ta latou tata na waia e Katinga i te po ia. Wo loa ki na yi, e tai puto ki te tae i te taiva ma na vete ma na toe ika. Womamai loa, aumai ki a Katinga, tao ake i te po ia.

Ko tapena latou i o latou lakau. Momoyo ake a latou mea ia, kai loa to latou oyo ia. Koa vaelua te po. Koa vave ki ao. Wo loa te kau, ulu i te kau o Yato ia.

Ko te tokaono o Yato: na oti ake te tapena a latou lakau taua. Wo loa yeleyele i te wui unu o te wui atua ki te launiu, ke matala ta latou wonga ia. Wo loa ki a Te Mangamanga, ma Talitonganuku, ma Taua, ma Mataliki ma na toe atua. Wo oki apoapo lakau i te wui wale lakau i te wui po ma na lakau atu i na toe konga.

Otiake te tapenapena a latou mea ia, wo loa latou ka taumua ki a Tuiva. Womamai loa la lunga o Te Motu o Valua. Womamai atu la ki Te Motu o Kaikole. Ko moe ai te tane ia, ko Tuanunui. Patu loa e latou, mate. Womamai loa latou ki te motu i Matala, ki a Tuiva. Ola loa wakawou te tane na latou patua; wakaolangia e te wui atua. E ye tikalia e mate; e tangata ma latou.

Oko mai loa ki te wale o Tuiva. Ati loa latou i te wale. Na oti latou te talatala. Ke oko latou ki te wale o Tuiva, wawao loa latou mai lunga, yoka loa, patu ma na lakau mai lunga. Tapa la i a Tuiva ko i loto, "Ti! " e kole pe, na oko. Ko ulu oki i a latou. Kakole la latou, "Kai teia ola, angaoti. Na wano ki wea? Mamai ke uluna! " Womamai loa, ulu ki Ngake, ki a Kilika ma tona wale lopa. Ulu mai la, na ngangalo. Mea loa latou, "Na ngangalo oki. Koai na tala?"

Wo loa ulu i a Tuiva ma Kilika. Ulu loa ki te mata ki Ngake, ulu atu, ko ngangalo. Yau oki i a Tuiva ma Kilika, ko ulu oki i a latou ki Yato. Koa wo latou onoono i te wui wale atua. Koa wo atu latou. Koa oti i te yale i ta latou launiu. Koa momotu latou i te launiu a te tokavalu. E kiai oki na kitea. Tuapo mai oki e te ulu la te vao. Koa vaveao loa.

Yau oki te kau o Yato na tuapo oki la Wale. E kiai na wiwi te kau i te po ia. Oko loa i a Tuiva ma Kilika ki te mata i te Ngake. Oko oki te kau o Yato ia ki Walepia. E kiai oki na kitea. Koa vave loa ki ao. Koa kitea te kili o te tangata. Niniko mai oki latou e te tuapo. Oko mai loa i a Tuiva ma Kilika ki tai o Paepae. Oko mai oki te kau o Yato ki tai o Kailia. Wakatau kakalo loa te kau. Kitea atu e Tuiva ma Kilika mai Paepae. Kite mai oki e te kau o Yato mai Kailia.

539 Wakatau welele loa te kau. Welele loa i a Tuiva ma Kilika ki Wumalolo. Aka loa i a Tuiva, makeke lua vae ki te papa, oko te kelekele ki na kaulilikinga. Aka oki i a Kilika makeke. Telala, e kiai na tu lelei, e to ye tau. Koa pili mai loa te kau o Yato. Koa wakaanga e te velo mai na koko. Mea loa i a Kilika ki a Tuiva, "Tuiva e, taku tu ko ye tau. I aku kai pakia. E kino la taua ke welele ki te Wunui? E ngali taua e vaeolo." Wakaaloa loa i a Tuiva i tona taina ia, kae pakia mate. Welele loa lua tokalua la lunga o Waula. Yinga loa to laua toe tawi lakau, ko Yakilia te ingoa. Yoka loa mai lunga e te tokaono o Yato. Wakaeke loa e te toe o latou ki tana lakau, ko Uikele. Teia te mea na wakaolai e Uikele, e tuanga tau nona, i a Yakilia. Oko loa i a Tuiva ma Kilika ki Te Wunui. Aka loa i a Kilika makeke. Aka oki i a Tuiva, e kiai na tau. E malulu te palapala.

Na wakailo wua taumua i a Kilika, ke onoono i a Puyaka, awe patua: e kovi kona ko wakamanaa na tala taumumua, ma te wui wakamailonga ika, ma te wui tupuanga wenua, ma na toe meatu. Ko te mea ia na ye pau ai te kau o Yato ia. Teia te toe: tapi na wakawu laua ki te konga na akai i a Tuiva, awa e lipoamata loa te kau i te pakapakaelonga. Ko te mea la kave ake loa ki Te Wunui, olai loa te toe kau.

Oko atu loa te kau o Yato kiai. Wakatau velo loa ki te koko ma te koyo. Taumua loa i a Tuiva ko Watumoana, nana te maloyi ia; mate. Ko Puyaka, ko Vakaua, ko Te Kele, no Kilika. Ko Watumoana, ko Uikele, ko Vakauli, no Tuiva. Wakatau kamu loa te kau ki te lakau. Ke onoono atu la i a Tuiva ki te lakau a Kilika, ko tuku tawa. Mea loa i a Tuiva ki a Kilika, "Ti awa tau lakau, koa tuku tawai; tuku tonu." Tuku tonu loa te lakau a Kilika. Wakalele oki i a Tuiva ia ki a Vakauli; mate. Tokalua ai te matenga.

E kiai na kitea te lelemainga o te koyo o Uikele, e Tuiva. Alai atu, na yoka i te kauanga pu. Patu atu te kaio, tautonu loa ko te mulimuli o te koyo. Wati te mata i loto o te kauanga o Tuiva. Ongotia loa i a Tuiva. Wakayinga loa, wuli pulou mai lunga o Vakauli, o tana tangata na mate. Kati ai mai lunga. Nana iloa wua, ka mate i ana. Kia i a Vakaua, koa tuwuli mai lunga o Tuiva. Ka vavayi ki tana kaio. E mea la na alaia e te tinitu ya mangamanga loa mai lunga o Tuiva. No lai na kamanga kino ai e Vakaua. Yaula i a Kilika na palupalu i tana lae na pakia, i te vai i Taumalanga, balu ake ki te kili welo. Kaka mai loa te leo o Tuiva ki a Kilika, "Kilika e, mate loa au." Aka mai loa i a Kilika, ko liolio i a Vakaua mai lunga o Tuiva. Tako loa e Kilika i te ponapona vae, to lo oki ki lalo ko te papatake. Mate loa i a Vakaua. Tokatolu ai te mamatenga.

Yaula i a Uikele ya la tatae wua. Welele te toe tokatolu: ko

Uikele, ko Te Kele, ma Puyaka. Wo loa tanu i a latou. Tanu loa la lalo o latou matutua na mamate taumua. Yaula i a Tuiva ma Kilika, kave loa e te tiniu ma o lau tawi lakau vavau i o laua konga ya pakia ke lelei. Lelei ake la. Wo loa ulu i te kau na ola. Ke wo atu la na pau te tanu.

Wakakite loa i a Tuiva ki te wenua takatoa, "Wakalongo mai la kotou e te wenua. Ko Kilika kona e wakayaelea te muli wenua, ke no au ki te loto wenua ma te mata wenua nei leowia, ke awe tutupu ni manako kikino." Ka wakatu te tangata o te wenua, na oko te tokawolo o te wui tane i te vaia o Tuiva ki te tinomano ma tino welau. Wakatu oki tana tupele, totolo te tangata; koa tupele. E nei na oko mai ai ki te malama nei, kae e toe tamaki na wakatupu.

Fire [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p.97, category 116--analyst.]

Ko te atua, ko Ngaliyeyeu, na aumai ki tona wata, ki a Te Ule. Kae awi i te wenua nei. Ko Ngaliyeyou na aumai ki a Te Ule. Kitea loa i te awi. I te vaia ia, ka ni awi loa a te wui wata o te wui atua. I te vaia mua ya tutu mai a latou awi i te awi a Te Ule. Lili loa te atua o Te Ule, ko Ngaliyeyeu. Mea loa kiai, "Tamate tau awi, kae lomamai na wata o te wui atua ava awi i kinei tunu ai a latou ika. Tuku wua ke kai mata a latou mea. Ke onge awi tunu ai, kae ola latou. Talapaya loa, tapa na latou te awi." Tamate loa i a Te Ule i tana awi. Neneva wua te wui wata. Wo atu ki a Te Ule ulu awi, "Te Ule e, ko wea te awi?" Mea mai loa i a Te Ule, "Kae awi." Kai mata wua loa te wui wata o te wui atua. Ko Te Ule, maua mai tana ika, tutu ake tana awi, mumula; tunu ake tana ika, momoyo; tamate te awi. Pela wua lai.

Teia te tionga na maua i te awi a te atua a Te Ule; e lakau, e puapua. Vayayi loa te puapua. Ta loa wakakauliliki te toe. Kia te ingoa o te mea kauliliki, e kaunati. Ko te toe vayanga o te lakau, ko tuku ki lalo. Vavalu loa te konga la lunga o te kili o te lakau. Tuku loa te kaunati mai lunga o te konga ia, ko te ikanga tona ingoa. Ika loa la. E lua tu o te ika, patumate te toe, wakanati te toe. Oko mai ki te toe vaia, tala i a Te Ule i te tionga e mauai te awi.

Seers [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 341-342, category 116--analyst.]

1. Ki Tamau e tane Muliwutu. Ko te wotunga, e tangata yivayiva. Teia te wui mea ka kitea; Te ika taulia, ke patupatu

539 tona lima ki te lima i te ika tauila. Patupatu ai ia. Kitea mai te wui peaupeau aitu. Teia te peaupeau, te talo, te mimo, te malo, te lakau, te tiale.

Ko Tamau e wata no Te Lauapapa. Me yau mai Wale ki ko nei, onoono atu ko tike te lenga, na momoyo. Tangu, kai. Te taiva, te vete, te manioi, --te wui ika katoatoa na momoyo, na tunu e tona atua ia. Ko tona mana ia o tona yilenga.

Teia na toe, ko te lomilomi maka: E lima wati, patupatu wuatu ki te lima, lelei! E wae wati, patupatu wuatu ki te lima, lelei! E mata kamutia, mea wuatu, lelei. E manava tingo, patupatu wuatu, lelei. Kae vai lakau e wai inu. E lima wua. Oti ai.

2. Ko Walieu. E Tama Loto ia Walieu. Ko Ngaligeyeu tona atua. Ko tona mana e awi. E ye tamate a te awi. E mumula wua peia. Ke mate te awi, ngalo te mana. Ka lulu mai te tangata maki ki tona wale. Ka takutaku ai i te atua. Kamulea te wui maki lelei. Teia te wui maki: te tangata uluwia e te aitu, ka lelei. Te tangata maki kinokino ina, ka lelei. Te tangata maki ao potopoto, ka lelei. Te wui maki, katoatoa, ka lelei. Pe ia katoa ki te wui ika liki, te malauila, te eye, te wuti kava, te wo, te kaloma, te atule pai: Me patu ai, makulu te manini tauila. Eia: ko tona yivayiva. Oti ai.

The story of Wua and Velo [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 350, category 116--analyst.]

Ko Wua ma Velo, ni lua wai wakamailunga i lunga o te langi. Teia a latou wakamailunga. Kao wenake mai te kau mata nunui e kakao i te vave ao, koa talatala te kakai, "Te nei, koa wenake te kau mata o Wua ma Velo." E wakamailunga no te malolo ma te wui uluaki ika o mataliki. E wualai te tavatava, te ulua, te wono, ma te kau ika o mataliki. E wenake ai te wui uluaki ika e wakawiwi ai te wui taulanga wonu i te moana.

Wua and Velo are two gods who make signs on the sky. These are their signs. When the group of very large stars rise in the morning, the people say, "Here, the group of stars of Wua and Velo are rising." It is a sign of the malolo and the several first-born fish of mataliki. These come in to the reef the tavatava the ulua, the wono, and the group of fish of mataliki. There climb up the various first-born (first to come) fish that have met the many turtle pairs in the sea. This is something of which the group of large stars of Wua and Velo is a sign.

539 E mea ko wakamailunga ki te kau mata nunui o Wua ma Velo. E wuai ma te talao, te wui ika, e wua to latou mai te katakata, te wapuku, te waloa, te eve, te unaliki, te loi. Ko na mea ia, e longo nui ai te kau mata nunui o Wua ma Velo. E onoono ai oki te kau e wangota ki te moana.

E kakao ai ma te wui tupua o lunga o te wenua; mai te kaveu, te tupa, te kaipea, te kalama, te manu a Taua, ma te unga kukula, te unga uli, ma te unga vae yila, e te unga wuluwulu atua. Ko na mea ia, e wakamailungai na mata o Wua ma Velo. E nei e takoto mai ai ki te vaia o te taitangata wou nei, he a latou iloloa te wakamailunga o na mata o Wua ma Velo ia. Pau ai loa te tala o Wua ma Velo.

(The fish) are with roe--the talao, all the fish are with roe, the katakata, ...and so forth. Those are the things which make very famous the group of large stars of Wua and Velo.

There appear also the various creatures on top of the land, such as the kaveu, the tupa, the kaipea, the manu a Taua, and the unga kukula, the unga uli, the unga vae Yila, and the unga wuluwulu atua. Of these things the stars of Wua and Velo are signs. They have come down to the time of the present generation, that they may know the signs of the stars of Wua and Velo. The story of Wua and Velo is finished.

H: Hutchin M-2 (1904) 1904 Pukapukans

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TRADITIONS AND SOME WORDS

OF THE LANGUAGE OF DANGER OR PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

By the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchin.

In the month of May, 1904, accompanied by Lieut.-Col. Gudgeon, 114
C.M.G., I paid a visit to Danger Island, recently annexed to
the Colony of New Zealand. It is a solitary atoll more than 177
seven hundred miles to the north-west of Rarotonga, with a population of nearly five hundred people. Only one vessel has visited the Island since the visit of the s.s. "John Williams" in October, 1903. Owing perhaps to their want of communication with the outside world the majority of the people seem somewhat duller in intellect
than the other Northern Islanders. One of the most intelligent of [115]
the natives is a man named Ura, and during our short stay there I gleaned the following information from him.

"Bukabuka was a rock in the ocean. A god named Tamaye 639
watched the rock, and thought it to be of no use whatever. The
rock, however, burst asunder, and a man appeared. He looked about 175
him, and there was hardly standing room. He accordingly made the
land of Bukabuka, and he was the ancestor of the people. His name 773
was Uyo. His wife came from Tonga, and her name was Te Vae-pupu. Their son was named Tu-nuri-vaka, and their daughter was named Te Mata-kinto.

In very ancient times two warriors came from Tonga, one was named Tokai-poro, and the other Taupe-roa, and they settled the people in three districts, one was called Avarua or Kotiporo, another
Te Awua (v pronounced like w) or Pusa-uri, and the third Taka-nami
or Uro-kura. In those days the kumara, the sugar cane, and arrow- [187
root grew on this Island. (The kumara plant flourishes now but has 241]
no tubers; the sugar cane grows when planted in the taro patches, but there is no arrowroot there at the present time).

They went to many lands in ancient times. Their warriors went to the east and west, but not to the north or south. The people went from Bukabuka (its ancient name was Nukuroa) to Samoa, to Niué, 11: Hutchin M-2 (1904) 1904 Pukapukans

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and other lands as Manihiki and Penrhyn Island (Tongareva). A number of people under a warrior went to Islands called Maunga-uiui pronounced Maunga-wiwi). The people there were like the Chinese (in colour). The land farthest to the westward which their ancestor visited was called Tekumatanau; the land farthest to the eastward which they visited was called Yiliavari. At that land their ancestors saw some big land monsters which were called *ngolo*. A warrior from Bukabuka went to a land called Vetuna, where these monsters were. The people tried to kill him and his parents; and to show his strength he seized one of these monsters (*ngolo*) and tore it in halves; and the people of that land were then afraid of him.

Their ancient name for Tahiti and the surrounding Islands, and Rarotongo and the surrounding Islands was Yaiake. Rarotonga was a mountain of Yaiake. There were two Arikis there who quarrelled, one was named Turi-yauora, and the other Tuyi-mate. When they quarrelled the land was divided, and Rarotonga was carried to the south; hence the name Rarotonga, that is Tonga to the west, because it was once located further to the east.

In ancient times Nukuroa (*i.e.* Bukabuka) was a much bigger land, and there were many more people than there are now, but there was a deluge, which swallowed up a great part of the land and of the people. The deluge came because of the wickedness of the people, and because of their impiety towards the gods. Some, who called upon their family gods were saved by them, and others who were dead were brought to life by their gods. The daughter of the king in those days stirred up the people to acts of wickedness and impiety. Her name was Anuna.

The people reckon their descent from the mother's side. The tribe which is the most ancient (probably the first settlers) was called Te Ua-rura, and they are descended from an ancestress called Te Raio. The second tribe (in point of ancient descent) is called Te Mango. The third tribe is called Te Uira, and the fourth tribe Te Kati. There are a number of sub-tribes, but these four are the most important tribes of Bukabuka."

At the close of Ura's narrative in Rarotonga will be found a list of Bukabukan words with their Rarotongan and English equivalents.

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E TUATUA TEIA NA URA, E TANGATA BUKABUKA AIA.

E Tuatua Taito.

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Ko Bukabuka e kaea ia ki raro i te moana. Kua noo tetai atua ko Tamaye, kua tiaki aia i te toka. Kua manako ana aia e, e mea paapinga kore. Kua ngaa mai te toka e kua aere mai te tangata ki runga ko Uyo tona ingoa. Kua akara aia e kare e turanga, e kua anga aia i te enua e pini ua aka. Nona i katiri mai ei te tangata. Ko tana vaine no Tonga mai, e ko Te Vao-pupu te ingoa o tana vaine ra. Tera te raua tamaiti tamaroa ko Tumuri-vaka; e ta raua tamaine ko Te-Matakiate.

No Tonga mai nga tangata toa i te tuatau taito, ko Tokaipore tetai, ko Taaperoa tetai. Kua noo raua, e kua mate raua ki teianei enua; e na raua i kokoti i nga oire. Ko Avarua te ingoa o tetai oire koia oki ko Ko tipora. Ko Teavaa tetai oire koia oki ko Panauri. Ko Takauumi tetai, koia oki ko Urekava.

Kua tupu ana te kumara, te tou, e te pia ki Bukabuka i te tuatau taito. I teia tuatau kare te kumara e kiko; ka tupu te tou ki roto i te au repo taro; e kare e pia i teia tuatau nei.

Kua aere ana ratou ki te au enua e manganui i te tuatau taito. Kua aere ana ratou ki te itinga o te ra, e te opunga o te ra, kare ki apatokerau, e ki apatonga. Kua kite ratou ia Manihiki e Tongareva (Penrhyn Island) Samoa e Niue, e tetai au enua atu. Kua tae ana tetai toa ma tona vaka tangata ki tetai pa enua ko Maungaiuiui te ingoa. E araini tai rotopu i tetai enua e tetai enua, e te tu tangata e papaa, mei te Tinito te tu. Ko Te Kumaiaanaa te enua openga ki te pae opunga, e ko Yilivari te enua openga ki te pae itinga. E au manu enua tei reira, e manu mamaata, e ngolo te ingoa o taua manu ra. Ko tetai toa Bukabuka kua tae aia ki tetai enua ko Vetuna te ingoa. Kua timata ana te tangata i te ta i aia; i reira kua kave ana aia i nga [illegible] nona ki [illegible] i te maunga; e kia kite te tangata i tona [illegible], kua opu aia i te ngolo, e kua aeae atura aia i taua manu ra; [illegible] taua enua tangata i aia. Tera te ingoa taito o Bukabuka ko Nukuroa.

Tera te ratou ingoa taito no Tahiti ma tona pa enua e Rarotonga ma tona pa enua ko Yaiako. Ko Rarotonga, e maunga ia no Yaiako. Kua pakapaka nga ariki [illegible], ko Tuaiyanana te ingoa o tetai ariki, e ko Tupumata te ingoa o tetai ariki. I reira kua motu a Rarotonga. kua tupu ko; e no reira i tapaia ko Rarotonga, no te mea no runga mai.

I te tuatau taito ra, e enua maata e Nukuroa (Bukabuka) e kua maata ua te tangata. Kua pou te enua e te tangata aia i tetai dalavi mate. E maangiti ua te roto (lagoon) i taua tuatau ra. Ko te akaturi te ara i pou ei te tangata, e no te takinga kino o te tangata i te au idolo, no reira kua kiriti tumu te au atua i te enua. Ko tetai aronga kua akaoraia e to ratou au idolo, auraka e mate. Ko tetai aronga tei mate ana, na to ratou au idolo i akatu ana ia ratou ki runga. Na te tamaine a te ariki te kino. Kare taua tamaine i moeia e te tane, e kua aere aia e kua tuatua aia kia rave i te pou akaturi. Kua tuatua kotoa aia, e akakino i te au idolo. Kua riri te au idolo i reira, e kua akatupu ana ratou i te deluvi.

Ko te tupu anga o te tangata mei te metua vaine ia. Ko Te Ua Raru, ko ratou te kopu tangata taito, e kua tupu ratou, mei te metua vaine ko Teraio. Ko Te Mango, ko te rua ia o te kopu tangata. Ko Te Uira, ko te toru ia o te kopu tangata. Ko Te Kati ko te ā ia o te kopu tangata.

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192 Ko tetai au tuatua taito o Bukabuka, e te akatau anga ki te reo Barotonga, e te reo Beritane.

Bukabukan.	*Rarotongan.*	*English.*
Tuatiare	Tuatua	Word.
Whare	Are	House
Yaaua	Tamaki	Fight
Ōra	Tangata Metua	An old man
Whenua	Enua	Land
Wa	A	Four
Whitu	Itu	Seven
Katoa	Ngauru	Ten
Akamaemae	Akaperepere	Beloved
Tarahu	Pure	Pray
Manatuā	Varene	Jealousy
Riri pokerekere	Riri otooto	Fierce anger
Wairiri	Mangunga	Thunder
Rauā	Rangi marie	Fine (as a fine day)
Tuinaanua	Tuakana	Elder or Eldest
Tuinaamuri	Teina	Younger or Youngest
Kāinga Vaine	Tuaine	Real Sister
Kāinga Tane	Tungane	Real Brother
Wharentua	Ko te tamaine ia a te tuakana	The daughter of the elder or eldest brother. Wharentua = the abode of the god.
Inakave	Ko te tamaine ia a te tuaine	The daughter of the sister
Aka	Takai	To tread
Lea vaeae	Rengarenga	Yellow
Popo kura	Kerekere rava	Very black
Kena	Teatea	White
Makavakavaka	Teatea rava	Very white
Koko	Korare	Spear
Kura mele	Muramura	A light red
Kura toto	Muramura roa	A dark red
Matoyinga	Ngati, ae Ngati tangata	A tribe
Puripuri	Katiri	*A line of descent.

*This is reckoned in Bukabuka from the female side

12: Gill M-2 (1877) 1912 Pukapukans

[TRANSLATION OF No. 23.]

A WORD ABOUT THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

[Pukapuka (or Danger) is one of a group of three small islands, about latitude 11° 131
S., and longitude 166° W., now forming part of the Cook Island Administration.
The group lies north-east from Samoa, at about 430 miles distant therefrom. Its 124
position will be seen on our Sketch Chart, Vol. XX., p. 116, of this 'Journal.'
In the same 'Journal,' Vol. XIII., p. 173, will be also found some brief traditions of these people, collected by the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchen, of Rarotonga, together with a short vocabulary of their dialect. The people number about 500, and are now British subjects. The original from which the following account is translated, was apparently written by one of the Rarotongan Native Missionaries to Pukapuka, and is both badly expressed and written, and, therefore, some
mistakes may occur in the translation. Several Pukapuka words are indicated by 173
italics, the meaning of which are given by the writer in Rarotongan. Several of
these words are still current in New Zealand, though not in Rarotonga 551
apparently. The part of the story about the transference of the chieftainship, is very obscure, and on that account the translation may be wrong in part. Kui's voyage to Samoa is probably historical. Kui, is usually a woman's name, but apparently here it is a man's.—EDITOR.]

October 22, 1877.

THIS is their story: It was Matariki[*] who made both Heaven and 773
Earth, and he was (? represented by) a stone. He was a god, 539●

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[*] Matariki is the name of the Pleiades, but probably this is not intended for that constellation.

the son of Tamaei, who came from Tonga. His mother was a *vatu*, or stone. He (Matariki) made and arranged the earth and the sea. 773

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After a time, the earth was overwhelmed by the sea. But no one (now) is able to explain this properly, that is, the accounts of the ancients, which is due to the evil and confusion of those times. But this is what they say (of their history): He (Matariki) founded the villages, named Muriutu, Matanga, Angari-pure, Akovika, Amaunga, and Aronga. It was in these places that men grew and increased to great numbers. In those days men did not die. The *ariki* (or high chief of the island) at that time was from Muriutu, and his name was Akau-te-vaka. His period was a happy and peaceful one, no cannibalism existed, nor wars. Hence was the period of Akau-te-vaka a happy one. 173

Time went on, until the days of Akamora, about whose period is the following history: He was detested by his people, for he was beloved by one of his grandchildren, named Akovika, a girl. He appointed her to succeed him on his death. The duties of this girl were to clean the head of the *ariki*, and pull out his grey hairs. When she had reached womanhood, the *ariki*, Akamora, delegated to her the chieftainship through the love she showed to him. Akamora said to the girl, Akovika, "Thou must take over my chieftainship." Akovika replied, "*E ke*" (which seems to express some doubt; the translation is, "It is different"), and then she went to (? consult) her parent, named Kui, who was a chief of Angari-pure and was a (? learned, or wise) man of Pukapuka.

Kui replied to his daughter, that he would take it (? the chieftainship), which caused all the people of the land to inquire (*riri*, is the Pukapuka word, said to be the same as Rarotongan *ui*, 'to ask'; but in Maori, it is 'anger,' and this seems from what follows, to be the meaning), and they consulted as to the means to kill Kui. All men agreed to this.

Men then went forth over the surface of the land to cut off heads; and the following was the arrangement: a thousand *nikau* (coconut leaves) were to be collected; all the people were to assist. One man was found, who was very able, of great strength, and a warrior, whose name was Vera. He brought one hundred *nikau* leaves at one time. And then they proceeded to make war, by preparing spears and stones.

The *ariki* Akamora had gone to the *marae* with a single *nikau* leaf in his hand to plant it in the earth in order to give authority to the appointment of his grand-daughter to the chieftainship. The men brought all the *nikau* leaves and placed them on Akamora, none fell in any other place, all were put on the *ariki*, so that they reached up to the heavens from the surface of the earth, whilst all his people collected in their proper places in the one *marae*.

Akamora, the *ariki*, had said to his grandchild when the *nikau* were placed on him, that one more should be added, and then, "My home and

773 my chieftainship are gone." Such were the words of the grandfather to his grandchild. When the time came for Kui to confirm the investiture
539 of the chieftainship, all the (people of the) land made their offerings,
193 each man with his weapon or spear. They all did the same. Then Kui did lance his spear, and stepped across the *marae* to the seaward side and there placed his weapon in the sea. The *marae* was thus pierced (? made sacred) and the *nikau* stabbed with his spear. The heavens were obscured by the *nikau*, at which all men were alarmed, for not a single weapon (or wood) remained on Akamora. He now went forth; for his authority had departed from him to his grandchild.

After all this, the daughter (of Kui) held the chieftainship, and the people said to Kui, "Go you to Samoa!" to which Kui assented, saying, "I will go!"

Kui now prepared his canoe for sea, and took on board his two children, named Tapeau-tane and Tapeau-vaine, and sailed away over the ocean. When they reached afar off, there was no food left on board on account of the length of their voyage, whilst the canoe filled with water. The parent sought some means by which to save his children, and made the outrigger of the canoe into bundles and fastened them on to the shoulders of his children. In consequence of the long time in the water and the want of food, Tapeau-vaine died. The parent rubbed noses with her and then cast her body away. The parent and Tapeau-tane still went on for many days, when starvation caused the death of the latter. The parent saluted the son and then cast his body off.

So Kui went on, whilst his body became covered with *tio* (someone has pencilled on the original, 'timber-worm.' *Tio*, in Maori, is an oyster—probably means here a barnacle) and then he fell to the bottom of the sea, and thus proceeded to the reef at Samoa.

When he reached Samoa, he went ashore and proceeded to steal from the rat-ovens of the Samoans, and then returned to the shore and remained there. The Samoans then proceeded to search for the thief who had stolen food from their rat-ovens. After a time a young girl went down to the sea-shore, where she found an object there; she turned it over, when the breath came out of its belly, at which she was frightened, and returned to tell the people of the land to come and see the object. All the people came down, when they seized the object, took it up and cooked it in an oven, thus died Kui. But his spirit survived, and it then made war on Samoa, killing a lot of people. After this the spirit of Kui returned and reported to all his family at Pukapuka what had happened at Samoa, and that its body had been cooked in an oven.

That is all of that story.